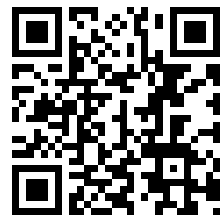

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*The history of the Second, Queen's
royal regiment, now the Queen's ...*

John Davis, Harold Carmichael
Wylly, %PROSackville, R. C. G. Foster

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HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

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1911.



THE HISTORY
OF
THE SECOND,
Queen's Royal Regiment,

NOW THE
QUEEN'S (ROYAL WEST SURREY) REGIMENT.

BY
LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN DAVIS, F.S.A.,
Commanding 3rd Battalion The Queen's (Royal West Surrey) Regiment.
Author of "The History of The Second Royal Surrey Militia."

With Maps and Illustrations.

VOL. I.

THE ENGLISH OCCUPATION OF TANGIERS.
From 1661 to 1684.

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TO
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN,
EMPRESS OF INDIA,
THIS HISTORY
OF THE ORIGIN AND SERVICES
OF
THE SECOND,
QUEEN'S ROYAL REGIMENT OF FOOT
NOW
THE QUEEN'S (ROYAL WEST SURREY) REGIMENT,
IS
BY HER MAJESTY'S GRACIOUS PERMISSION,
MOST RESPECTFULLY
Dedicated.

THE SECOND,
Queen's Royal Regiment of Foot.

Raised as the Tangiers Regiment, 1661 ;

Returned Home and Placed on the Establishment May, 1684 ;

Became " The Queen Dowager's Regiment," 1686 ;

" Royal," 1703 ;

Her Royal Highness The Princess of Wales's Own Regiment, 1714 ;

" The Queen's Own Regiment," 1727 ;

The Queen's (Second) Royal Regiment of Foot, 1st July, 1751 ;

AND

The Queen's (Royal West Surrey Regiment), 1st July, 1881.

BADGES AND DISTINCTIONS CONFERRED ON THE REGIMENT.

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THE PASCHAL LAMB.

THE ROYAL CYPHER WITHIN THE GARTER.

THE SPHINX.

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"PRISTINÆ VIRTUTIS MEMOR." "VEL EXUVIÆ TRIUMPHANT."

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"VIMIERA."	"PENINSULA."
"CORUNNA."	"AFGHANISTAN."
"SALAMANCA."	"GHUZNEE."
"VITTORIA."	"KHELAT."
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An Exact Journal of the Siege of Tangier, from the first Setting down of the Moors before it on March 25th, 1680, to the late Truce May 19th following, in three Letters written by Three Eye-Witnesses of the whole Transaction. London, 1680. Fol.

* Copies of these are also in the Library of the Corporation of the City of London, at the Guildhall, and they are all in the Library at the British Museum.

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A Second Journal of the Siege of Tangier from March 20th, to May 24th, 1680.

A Particular Narrative of a Great Engagement between the Garrison of Tangier and the Moors, and of the Signal Victory which His Majesties Forces obtained against them on the 27th of October last. In the Savoy [London] 1680. Fol.

A Discourse of Tangier under the Government of the Earl of Teviot. Written by Dr. L. Addison, Dean of Lichfield, who was minister to the English at Tangier, till the death of the said Earl. London, 1681.

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PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS.—*The London Gazette.*

P R E F A C E .

IN the record of the early history of the old "Second Queen's" which is given in this volume, the first thought that will strike the military reader is that in a work professing to be a record of the services of a British regiment so much matter is introduced that may very properly be said not to belong to military history. If no reason was given for this departure the criticism might be considered just; but it is impossible—in order to give full effect to the early services of this distinguished Regiment—to leave out the various matters relating to Tangiers during its occupation by the English, as the two are so closely connected that the services of the Tangiers Regiment must of necessity be the history of the occupation of Tangiers. So little is known of this portion of our national history and of the gallant struggles made by our soldiers to guard what was then considered a most valuable acquisition to our possessions, that perhaps no better place could be found for an account of the Tangiers occupation than in the history of the Regiment raised for its defence, and which took part in all the events occurring there during the twenty-three years that the town and country formed part of the British Empire. For those who take an interest in old world history the Appendices contain a brief account—although a meagre and incomplete one—of old Tangiers and the old Mauritanian kingdom, of which Tangiers was no unimportant part.

Amongst the mass of papers collected for the succeeding volumes of the history of the Regiment nothing is more striking than the records of their early services in Tangiers. The resolute enduring pluck of the garrison fighting under every conceivable difficulty, and when overwhelmed with numbers dying at their posts, has needed no word-painting. It must ever be a subject of regret that the religious

prejudices of the times compelled the government to abandon a place which, had it been retained, might have been as bright a jewel in England's crown as Bombay—which, with Tangiers formed part of Queen Catherine's dowry.

Tangiers—had the Mole, upon which the Regiment laboured hard, been completed—would have formed a secure harbour for our fleets, and a protection to our shipping, in the times when the Turkish pirates, including the far-famed Sallee Rovers, were such a danger to our ships, and in these later days would have been of great advantage to our commerce.

The evacuation of Tangiers by Lord Dartmouth was executed with consummate skill, and though our active and unscrupulous foes were hovering round, and quite ready to take advantage of any sign of weakness, no losses were incurred.

It has been a matter of great regret that no trace could be found in any of the Tangiers Papers or the other original MS. papers kindly entrusted to me for search, of the services of the Duke of Marlborough in the Regiment, though all the records of the period during which he must have been in Tangiers have been carefully examined. There is little doubt that he, with other volunteers, served with the Regiment, as it was quite a common thing for gentlemen to do at that time. These volunteers, except they were men of rank like the Earl of Plymouth and Lord Mordaunt, were not mentioned in the correspondence. At this time John Churchill was only an ensign in the Foot Guards. In Cannon's Records of the Regiment it is stated that the great soldier John Churchill Duke of Marlborough served as a volunteer in the Tangiers Regiment during the time of the governorship of the Earl of Middleton. Both Coxe and Alison, in their biographies of Marlborough, mention that he went to Tangiers and took part in the fights there. Churchill, about the time he is reported to have served at Tangiers, was an ensign in the Foot Guards, and not twenty years of age. It can easily be imagined with what ardour he would throw himself into the frequent skirmishes with the enemy, and learn no doubt some useful lessons from the crafty tactics of the Moors, as even in his early career he gave evidence of that great capacity of retaining all experiences for use in time of need.

Although a list of titles borne by the Regiment at different periods is given on one of the first pages in this volume, there is some reason to doubt their accuracy; according to Cannon's Records they are correct, but previous to the Royal Warrant dated the 1st of July, 1751, regiments were only known by the name of their commanding officer for the time being.

Of the illustrations, four are autotypes from the original paintings by Stoop in the possession of Lord Dartmouth, the remainder, except the picture of Her Majesty—which is copied by the kind permission of Messrs. Colnaghi & Co., from the print given by Her Majesty to the Regiment—and that of Queen Catherine, are copied by the Woodbury type process from the engravings by Hollar, in the Royal Library at Windsor and the Print Room of the British Museum. Six of the Plans are copied from drawings taken from the originals at Windsor Castle, and lithographed by Messrs. Stanford, of London.

I have the greatest pleasure in acknowledging the kindness of Lord Dartmouth in allowing me to copy his valuable pictures, including a portrait of Lord Dartmouth, and also for giving me access to his most valuable collection of manuscripts.

Mr. James J. Cartwright, M.A., of the Public Record Office, who is editing these manuscripts, kindly gave me his valuable assistance, which I gratefully acknowledge.

My best thanks are also due to Mr. Hubert Hall, F.S.A., the successor to my late esteemed friend Mr. Alfred Kingston at the Public Record Office, who, himself a worker in history, loves to help with his advice and assistance labourers in like fields. His intimate knowledge of the rich treasures of the Record Office, and his direction and advice always freely and courteously given, have saved me much labour in research.

To Colonels F. J. Hercy, Kelly-Kenney, Major Mackie, Captain Gosset, and many old officers of "The Queen's," I hereby tender my best thanks for many valuable hints in the conduct of my labour, and for the kindest encouragement.

To Major G. A. Raikes, F.S.A., of the Third Battalion The York and Lancaster Regiment, I owe a great debt of gratitude; for when

I was obliged to go abroad for several months he kindly undertook to edit my manuscripts, which he has done with the most painstaking accuracy and care. My best thanks are also due to Lieut.-General Sir F. W. Hamilton, K.C.B., the historian of the Grenadier Guards, for some valuable information about the Tangiers garrison, and for his kind and courteous help.

To Major R. R. Holmes, F.S.A., Librarian to the Queen, I am also indebted for obtaining for me Her Majesty's permission to copy the valuable plans of Tangiers preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor, and also for copies of prints and uniform for succeeding volumes of this history.

To Sir John Drummond Hay, K.C.B., I am much indebted for valuable information regarding Tangiers, and also for lending me a copy of Sir Hugh Cholmley's original papers on the Mole. Also to Mr. Herbert Edward White, British Consul at Tangiers, I have to tender my thanks for directing me to sources of information on Tangiers.

This first instalment of the history of the Regiment will, I hope, be the means by its publicity of bringing to light many half-forgotten facts and personal reminiscences, and I shall gladly receive information of interest that may be in the possession of any past or present officer, and which I will most gratefully acknowledge.

J. D.

BIFRONS, FARNBOROUGH, HANTS,
August 20th, 1887.

HISTORY

OF THE

SECOND

QUEEN'S ROYAL REGIMENT;

NOW THE

Queen's Royal West Surrey Regiment.

CHAPTER I.

ORGANISATION OF THE ARMY AT THE RESTORATION.

FROM 1660 TO 1661.

CONTENTS.—Formation of the Tangiers Regiments—Earl of Peterborough appointed the first Colonel—Cromwell's Troops—A Standing Army organised—List of Regiments of Cavalry and Infantry, 1661—Parliamentary objections to a Standing Army—Poll Tax—The Disbandment Act—Lord Clarendon's speech—The Army of the Commonwealth—The Army as reconstituted—Formation of the Foot Guards—Origin of the Royal Scots—Order of Precedence of Regiments—The King's speech—His Marriage with Catherine of Braganza—French and Spanish intrigues—Street Fight between French and Spaniards in London—Description of Queen Catherine—Her parentage—Tangiers and Island of Bombay her dowry.

THE history proper of the present English Army dates only from the Restoration, and the Second Queen's was actually the first Regiment, after the Guards, that was placed upon the Establishment. The commission of the Earl of Peterborough as Colonel is dated the 6th of September, 1661, and this may be taken as the date of the formation of the Regiment. In the Patent Roll in which this commission is set forth it is stated clearly, that he shall be empowered to raise Horse and Foot for the protection of the garrison of Tangiers. The Regiments so raised, which were sent out to Tangiers before the end of the year, were "The Tangiers Regiment of Foot,"

now the Second Queen's, and the "Tangiers Regiment of Horse," now the First or Royal Dragoons.

Charles had early on his restoration turned his attention to having a standing army, but he was obliged to act with great circumspection, so great was the popular dislike of such an institution. The old Cromwellian army, it was soon found, was permeated with prejudice against the new order of things and pride in the old. Though the Revenue that had been assigned to the Crown did not provide for the expense of a standing army, Charles was secretly determined to have one, but it was first necessary to disband the old one. An Act was therefore speedily passed for this purpose.* General Monk had taken precautions before the King landed to remove the known republican officers and men from the army,† but it was soon seen that it would be impossible to rely upon it even if the Commons could be prevailed upon to consent to its existence. The reason publicly assigned for disbanding the army was its great burden and charge; but there is no doubt the King himself had an invincible objection to rely for the security of his throne and life upon the troops who had taken part in the civil wars against his father, and who, though they received him with acclamations at Blackheath—where the restored monarch passed in review (on his way up from Dover to London) the veteran soldiers of the Commonwealth—they only by those shouts showed the perfection of their discipline, which has in all times made the English Army so renowned, and not their loyalty to the King. Monk had taken also another precaution with the Army in allowing many of the loyal nobility to raise volunteers to join the Army, and assist in the review.‡ There were not wanting signs before long of the wisdom of releasing the old Commonwealth Army from their services. Next year, on the 19th April, 1661, on the occasion of the Coronation, it was found necessary to issue a proclamation "ordering all cashiered officers and soldiers of the late Army to depart on or before that date, and not come within twenty miles of London or Westminster till May 20th, some such having held seditious meetings, &c."§

The following is a list of the Regiments of Cavalry and Infantry disbanded by the King; but the names of the commanders are not

* 12 Charles II., cap. 9.

† "The Army and Militia are settling in the hands of persons of known loyalty." State Papers (Domestic) Charles II. Vol. X., p. 185, Spanish Correspondence, August 9th, 1660.

‡ Hamilton's "History of the Grenadier Guards," Vol. I., p. 36.

§ State Papers (Domestic), Vol. XXXIV., p. 567.

those who commanded them in the Commonwealth, the whole of them having been changed with the exception of General Monk and Colonels Morgan and Fairfax.*

CAVALRY REGIMENTS.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Major-General Morgan's (except his own troops). | 9. Earl of Sandwich's. |
| 2. Lord Falkland's. | 10. Sir Edward Rossitor's. |
| 3. Lord Howard's. | 11. Colonel Daniel O'Neil's. |
| 4. Sir John Clobury's. | 12. Francis Lord Hawley's. |
| 5. Sir Hugh Bethel's. | 13. The Life Guards, commanded by Captain Sir Phillip Howard. |
| 6. Sir Anthony Astley Cooper's. | 14. Lord Fauconberg's. |
| 7. Sir Richard Inglesby's. | 15. Sir Ralph Knight's. |
| 8. Earl of Oxford's. | 16. Duke of Albemarle's. |

INFANTRY REGIMENTS.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. Colonel Richard Norton's. | 11. Colonel John Bird's |
| 2. Colonel Hugh's. | 12. Earl of Cleveland's. |
| 3. Colonel Robson's. | 13. Colonel Samuel Clerk's. |
| 4. Earl of Ossory's. | 14. Lord Mordaunt's. |
| 5. Duke of Buckingham's. | 15. Colonel Leonard Sidcott's. |
| 6. Colonel Charles Fairfax's. | 16. Earl of Peterborough's. |
| 7. Lord Bellusse's. | 17. Lord Herbert's. |
| 8. Sir Henry Cholmeley's. | 18. Earl of Northampton's. |
| 9. Sir Edward Massey's. | 19. Colonel Hubblethorn's. |
| 10. Colonel Read's. | 20. Duke of Albemarle's (Coldstreams). |

There are various estimates of the number of the troops that were disbanded. Lingard, the historian, gives the number as 60,000.† Macaulay says, "Fifty thousand men accustomed to the profession of arms were at once thrown upon the world."‡ But, even if the smallest of these is taken as the true estimate, there must have been a considerable augmentation of the Army during the supremacy of the Military Council preceding the Restoration, as in the last year of the Commonwealth the numbers were about 30,000 men in all the three kingdoms.§

The discussions on the Army question in the Parliament of the restored Monarchy were various and diverse; some of the members maintained "that it was inconsistent for an Army and Parliament to subsist together," and others, "that the people's liberties were not safe with such an army." The general feeling being that a standing Army was a menace against the liberties of the people. At last, on the

* Orders in Council, dated 14th, 17th, and 28th September, 1660.

† Lingard, Vol. IX., ch. vi., pp. 8-9.

‡ Macaulay, Vol. I., p. 154.

§ Commons Journals, 7th April, 1659.

23rd August, it was resolved to appeal to Monk to assist a committee that had been appointed to disband the Army. Upon receiving his plans on the 30th August, the Act referred to was passed, and received the Royal assent on the 13th September.

The expense of the disbandment was to be defrayed by a poll tax, graduated according to rank; from a duke, who paid £100, to an esquire, who paid £10, the lowest degree of citizen "of above sixteen years of age paying sixpence."

The order in which the Regiments were to be disbanded was determined by lot. The King, writing from Whitehall to the Commons on 31st August to prorogue Parliament from September 8th to November 6th, writes that he hopes "care will be taken to raise money for paying the debts of the Navy and disbanding the Army."* The Commons, through their Speaker, presented to the King on September 13th Bills for providing £70,000 a month for "disbanding the Army and Navy, for regulating the Bay Trade, increase of shipping and navigation, and restoration of some ministers;" but it would appear from a Proclamation of the 26th, from Whitehall † that there had been some difficulty in collecting the tax, as the King orders the collectors to "perform their duty speedily, and the people to give due obedience."

Before the end of the year the old Army of Cromwell, that had in all its fights so well upheld the credit of England's soldiers, was no more, with the exception of the Life Guards, who were retained as the king's body guard, and Monk's Coldstreams; which latter Regiment, on being marched up to lay down their arms, were allowed to take them up again, and were at once reconstituted as a Regiment in the King's Army. This event of the retention of Monk's Coldstreams was brought about as much by the abortive insurrection of the Fifth Monarchy men—led by the cooper Venner—as by the great general's desire. The Duke of York—taking advantage of the circumstance of this slight insurrection—at a meeting of the Council next day, the 7th (the insurrection was on the 6th, Sunday), "hoped all the members of Council would see how necessary it was, at such a crisis, to suspend the disbanding of the general's Regiment of Foot at Whitehall, which was by order of Parliament to be disbanded the next day." The Council agreeing to the suggestion of the Duke that the Regiment should be retained, the King was petitioned, and willingly consented to it. The Regiment was therefore informed of the King's gracious concession, and it was carried into effect on the 14th February on

* State Papers (Domestic), Charles II., Vol. XI., p. 207.

† Ibid., Vol. XIV., No. 101, pp. 266 and 276; and Commons Journals, Vol. VIII., p. 174.

Tower Hill, "with more than ordinary solemnity." The disbandment Act was followed by "an Act for enabling the soldiers of the Army, now to be disbanded, to exercise trades," and it enabled these men—who were composed of a much higher class than are usually found in the Army, except when conscription is the rule—to resume their trades in any of the corporate cities or towns, and even to do so in case they had not completed their legal term, as freely as if they had done so. This act of Charles was a kind as well as a politic one, as it was calculated to convert the grim old soldiers of the Commonwealth into at least contented if not loyal subjects.

In Lord Clarendon's speech in the House of Lords, after the King had spoken on the disbandment, he said, "That the King will part with them as the most indulgent parents part with their children, for their education and preferment;" and that "he doubts not but, if he should have occasion to use their service, they will again resort to him with the same alacrity as if they had never been disbanded."*

Burnet writes of the old Republican Soldiers: "They were certainly the bravest, the best disciplined, and the soberest army that had been known in these latter ages."

Many of them were the younger sons of gentlemen and tradesmen, whom Cromwell's high pay had induced to enter the service.†

The earliest information about Charles's new standing Army is contained in the "Parliamentary Intelligencer" of August,‡ which informs its readers that two Regiments of Foot are to be raised, one in Southwark, to be commanded by Sir Edward Bowyer, and another to be commanded by Sir Robert Parkhurst, one of the gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber. Each Regiment to have ten companies.

But it does not appear that the order for the raising of these two Regiments was carried into effect, though it is probable they may have formed the nucleus of the Guards' Regiment, which is said by its historian § to have been ordered to be raised on the 23rd November, Colonel Russell's commission bearing that date. || The Coldstreams, with their grand services, under Monk, in the Commonwealth, can only date their precedency in the Army from the date of their reconstitution on Tower Hill, on the 14th February, 1661, already referred to.

The Scots Guards were raised in Scotland in August, 1662, their

* Lords and Commons Journals.

† Scott's History of the British Army, Vol. III., p. 55.

‡ Parliamentary Intelligencer, August 6 to 13.

§ Hamilton's History of the Grenadier Guards, Vol. I., pp. 43, 46.

|| Sir Sibbald David Scott, in The British Army, Vol. III., pp. 65 to 75, disputes this date, and gives it as 7th February, 1661.

first Commanding Officer being the Earl of Linlithgow, who was appointed Lieut.-Colonel, and Sir James Turner Sergeant-Major.*

They first appeared in England on the occasion of James II. reviewing his troops, on Hounslow Heath, in 1686. They remained on the Scotch Establishment till the Union, in 1707, from which time they have been on the Guards' Establishment, though it was not till 1713 that they were permitted to perform the same duties about the Sovereign as the other two Regiments of Foot Guards.

The First Royals, or, as they are now styled, the Royal Scots, has a very old history, but their fighting, in early days, had been for foreign countries. It was first placed on the Royal Establishment on the breaking out of war between England and France in 1666. Charles had demanded the return of the British subjects in the service of the King of France, and, in consequence, the "Douglas Ecossais," as the Regiment was then called, landed at Rye, on the 12th of June, 1666, as appears by a notice in the *London Gazette*. According to Daniel, in his "History of the French Army," at that time it received orders to proceed to England in 1661 (though none of the English papers refer to its presence), it being at that time in garrison at Avesnes, and while it was said to be in England in 1661 it is reported to have rendered very important services to King Charles, and was recruited from eight Companies to thirty-three, of at least one hundred men each.†

There are several important papers in the Public Record Office in relation to the order of precedence of the newly raised forces of the Crown. The earliest is an undated paper quoted by Sir Frederick Hamilton in his "History of the Grenadier Guards."‡ "For the preventing of all questions and disputes that might arise concerning the ranking, placing, ordering, and disposing the several Regiments, Troops, Companies, &c., we have thought fit to issue out these following Rules and Directions." These directions specify that the Regiment of Foot Guards be held and esteemed the eldest Regiment, all other Colonels to take their rank according to the date of their Commissions, with other particulars following of minor precedency in the Guards' Regiments themselves. An order was again issued by the King, from Whitehall, on March 1st, 1672-3,§ giving our "own Regiment of Foot Guards" first rank next the Coldstreams, and then the other Regiments,

* Sergeant-Major commonly meant, in the language of those times, the officer now styled Major.—Grose's *Military Antiquities*, Vol. I., p. 208. Note V.

† Scott's *History of the British Army*, Vol. III., p. 238.

‡ Hamilton's *History of the Grenadier Guards*, Vol. I., pp. 65-66.

§ Scott's *History of the British Army*, Vol. I., p. 301.

"according to the seniority of the Regiments they are of;" and, lastly, —as this last precedency order was to settle a dispute between the Duke of Monmouth's Regiment and a Regiment commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Bevill Skelton, raised for service in France, and selected from the standing forces :—It placed the Duke's Regiment last, giving the precedency to Lieut.-Colonel Skelton's Regiment. This was no doubt in consequence of Skelton being of the King's Guards, which in all cases was given first rank.

The first Order relating to the precedence of Regiments was issued on the 6th day of February, 1683 (on the reported arrival of the troops from Tangiers), so as to place the Regiments, on their arrival in England, on their proper footing.

The Royal Warrant is as follows * :—

"CHARLES R.

"For the preventing of all Questions and Disputes that might arise for or concerning the Ranks of the several Regiments and Companies of Foot which now are or at any time hereafter shall be employed in Our Service, and of the several Officers and Commanders of the same as well upon Service and in the Field as in all Councils of War and other Military Occasions, where they are called to appear in their respective Qualities, Wee have thought fit to issue out these following Rules and Directions, viz :—

"That Our Own Regiment of Guards take place of all other Regiments of Foot, and that the Colonell be alwaies reckoned and take place as the first Foot Colonell. That Our Coldstream Regiment of Guards take place next. After which Our Scotch Regiment and Tanger Regiment. Our Most Dear and Most entirely Beloved Brother James Duke of York's Regiment are to have Precedency as they are here ranked.

"That all other Regiments of Foot take place according to their respective Seniorities from the time they are raised, so as that no Regiment is to loose its Precedency by the Death of their Colonell, and all Captains are to take place within their respective Regiments according to the Dates of their Commissions.

"And it is Our full Will and Pleasure that these Our Orders bee communicated to the Colonells of Our Severall Regiments of Foot, and Governors of Our Garrisons, to bee by them communicated to the respective Officers under their Command. Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the sixth day of February, 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ in the 36 year of Our Reign.

"By His Mat^{ties} Command,
"SUNDERLAND."

On the 8th of May the King made his speech to the Houses of Parliament announcing his marriage with Catherine; and, after referring to the State reasons for calling them together, he continued, † "I will not conclude without telling you some news, that I think will be very

* War Office Miscellany Orders, 1683-1697, pp. 5 and 6.

† Parliamentary History, Vol. IV., 1660-1668.

acceptable to you ; and, therefore, I should think myself unkind and ill-natured if I should not impart it to you. I have often been put in mind by my friends that it was high time to marry ; I have thought so myself ever since I came into England ; but there appeared difficulties enough in the choice though many overtures have been made to me, and if I should never marry till I could make such a choice against which there could be no foresight of any inconvenience that may ensue, you would live to see me an old bachelor, which I think you do not desire to do. I can now tell you not only that I am resolved to marry, if God please, and towards my resolution I have used that deliberation and taken that advice as I ought to do in an affair of that importance and trust me with a full consideration of the good of my subjects in general as of myself it is with the daughter of Portugal. When I had as well as I could weighed all that occurred to me, the first resolution I took was to state the whole overtures which had been made to me, and in truth all that had been said against it, to my Privy Council, without hearing whose advice I never did nor ever will resolve on anything of public importance ; and I tell you with great satisfaction and comfort to myself that after many hours' debate in a full Council, for I think there was not above one absent, and truly, I believe, upon all that can be said upon that subject for or against it, my lords, without one dissenting voice, yet there were very few sat silent, addressed me with all imaginable cheerfulness to this marriage, which I looked upon as very wonderful, and even as some instance of the approbation of God himself, and so took up my own resolution and concluded all with the Ambassador of Portugal, who is departing with the whole treaty signed, which you will find to contain many great advantages to the kingdom, and I will make all the haste to fetch you a Queen hither, who I doubt not will bring great blessings with her to me and you. I will add no more, but refer the rest to the Chancellor."

The news of the conclusion of the treaty of marriage caused great joy in Portugal, particularly as it contained promises of assistance to the Portuguese: "Amongst other conditions of the treaty his Britannic Majesty has obliged himself immediately to send into Portugal 3,000 Foot, and 1,000 Horse, and also eight frigates to cruise upon the coasts all the summer and to assist the Portuguese." * In the journal of the Earl of Sandwich ("in his voyage to Lisbon to bring over the Infanta of Portugal, and his return to England, and to execute other orders for the visiting of Algiers, Tangiers, &c.") are

* Kennet's Register, p. 471.

some most interesting particulars of these times. Beginning at June 13th, 1661, it finishes with his arrival with the Queen at Portsmouth, in May, 1662, the last entry being on the 26th, the day on which the marriage took place. The announcement of the marriage had caused the most intense feeling on the part of the Spaniards and French. Louis XIV. of France had supported the marriage with all his power, as he saw in it a means of striking at Spain, his great rival, through this English alliance with the house of Braganza. The news of the marriage of the King is referred to in a curious letter of Prince Rupert from Mayence, sent to Colonel William Legge, in which he writes:—"I met heere a envoye w^{ch} intended for England sent from Emp^r; he seemes much troubled att the news w^{ch} he met with heere of K^a marriage wth Porteg^{ls} K^a daughter. I have done what I can to make him goe on, but as yett he is not resolved farrther then Brussels, there he will stay for orders." *

The account of the intrigues of the rival nations of France and Spain over this marriage in England would fill a volume. An old manuscript of Sir Robert Southwell's, an intimate friend of the Duke of Ormond, gives the most circumstantial account of these intrigues. He says the root of it came from the treaty made in 1659 between the great Cardinal Mazarin of France and Don Lewis de Haro of Spain. In the war that afterwards ensued between Spain and Portugal, Mazarin, although he had engaged not to help Portugal, yet did so privately. By the advice of France, Portugal sent to their ambassador in London urgent instructions to arrange a treaty with the Commonwealth or the then powers, and the Council of State did actually sign a treaty for the "Posture of Defence of Portugal." † General Monk about this time arrived in London, and the Ambassador, seeing that plans for the Restoration were ripe, devoted himself to him and began with discovering a most useful secret, "That the Spaniards had resolved if the King was called home to detain him at Brussels till he should deliver up Dunkirk and Jamaica," and this had caused his sudden removal to Breda. He also proposed to General Monk the Portuguese alliance, urging the value of the Princess's dowry, particularly Tangiers, "which would make the English masters of the trade in the Mediterranean," and further urging that Bombay would give the same advantage for the East Indies. General Monk was so impressed with the value to the King and country of the alliance, that no sooner did the King land than he offered him this marriage. Lord Chancellor Hyde endeavoured to overthrow it, and begged the King as soon as he

* Dartmouth MSS.

† Kennet's Register, pp. 393 to 395.

could to call a secret or Cabinet Council at Whitehall in the Red Chamber. In this Council Hyde urged upon the King that the marriage would be a calamity for the nation, and gave many reasons; but the King, "frowning and swelling," told the Lord Chancellor to go on with the treaty for the marriage, and the meeting broke up.* According to Hume,† the resolution of the King to marry Catherine of Braganza was taken by himself and unknown to all his ministers, and there is no doubt that the princess being of Catholic faith was a point in her favour with the King. The two ambassadors of the Courts of France and Spain were each most urgent in putting their views of the polity or impolity of the marriage before Charles and his Council, and when France triumphed by the announcement of the marriage the feeling became so intensified that it culminated in a street fight on the 30th September, 1661, between the two embassies, the occasion being the landing of the Swedish ambassador, Baron de Vallevede, on Tower Hill. The Spanish ambassador, Don Francisco de Mello (Catherine's godfather), and his people had the best of the fight, as it really became, but the French ambassador, Count D'Estrades, had the best of the intrigue. King Charles had ordered that no one was to interfere, so the soldiers (three companies of Foot Guards, and His Royal Highness the Duke of York's Life Guards) and people took no part in it. Pepys says, "The truth is the Spaniards were not only observed to fight most desperately, but also did outwit them, first in lining their own harness with chains of iron that they could not be cut, then in setting their coach in the most advantageous place and to appoint men to guard every one of their horses, and others for to guard the coach, and others the coachman, and above all in setting upon the French horses and killing them, for by that means the French were not able to stir." ‡

John Evelyn, in a letter to Williamson,§ gives a lively account of the fight, which he says was given to him by Sir William Compton, Master of Ordnance, Sir Charles Berkely, and many others. According to this account the Spaniards, by a clever ruse, caused the French coach to pause, and thus enable the Spanish coach to get first. The French then fired and a struggle ensued, the Spaniards hamstringing the French horses. The English were so strictly forbidden by the King not to interfere, and the order was so particularly attended to, that Sir Charles Berkely, Captain of the Duke of York's Life Guards,

* Kennet's Register, pp. 393 to 395.

† History of England, Vol. VI., p. 122.

‡ Pepys' Diary, p. 84.

§ State Papers, Domestic Series, 1661, Vol. XLIII, p. 105.



QUEEN CATHERINE OF BRAGANZA, CONSORT OF CHARLES II.

*From the Portrait by Fairthorne, taken in the dress in which
 she arrived in England.*



chastised an Englishman if he only carried a stick. Some of the English crowd were wounded by the French shots, and being naturally incensed began to throw brickbats, and great mischief might have resulted, but for the action of the Guards. The struggle being for precedence in the procession, the Spaniards gained the day.

Catherine was not a great beauty, but she had pleasing features. In Ranke's History of England there is an interesting account of her appearance and manner. "The young Queen, though small in person, was not without beauty. In her Spanish dress, with long flowing hair, a serene and quiet mien, and dark deep eyes, she might well create a favourable impression. The King, who was able to converse with her in her mother tongue, was charmed with her quiet and gentle disposition, so much in harmony as it was with his own. He was kind to her, taught her to utter her first words of English, and in the meantime acted as interpreter even when she was addressed in French, which she did not understand, for she had been reared in the loneliness of a cloister, and only for a life of religious devotion. Even now she disliked to be seen in the Court circle, she never seemed to be happy till the time came when the King took her hand to lead her back to their apartments. She felt for him the passionate devotion of the first youthful love of an innocent heart. He expressed himself well contented with her." * There is an account of her appearance, in Evelyn's quaint style, which gives a curious description of the way she dressed her hair. "The Queen arrived with a train of Portuguese ladies in their monstrous fardingals or guard-infantos, their complexions olivader (of a dark olive complexion), and sufficiently unagreeable. Her Majesty in the same habit, her fore-top long and turn'd aside very strangely. She was yet of the handsomest countenance of all the rest, and tho' low of stature, prettily shaped, languishing and excellent eyes, her teeth wronging her mouth by sticking a little too far out; for the rest lovely enough." †

In Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England is a description of Catherine taken from a portrait which is supposed to be that sold at the dispersion of Horace's Walpole's collection, at Strawberry Hill. "Catherine is there represented as a lovely glowing brunette, with large black eyes, and a rich profusion of chestnut hair, disposed on each side of her face in a waved pyramid consisting of parallel lines of cannon curls, descending in graduated rows to the waist in a most extraordinary and unaccountable fashion, as if in imitation of a Lord Chief Justice's state wig, but without powder. The whole of a very

* Ranke's History of England, Vol. III., p. 405. † Evelyn's Diary, p. 284.

beautiful head of hair was spread out thus fantastically in side wings, with the exception of one large tress called a top-knot, which was combed slanting across the forehead, and gave additional oddity to this strange arrangement." * Charles, who was known to be partial to brunettes, remarked after a long look at the portrait, "That person cannot be unhandsome."

Catherine was the daughter of John, Duke of Braganza, surnamed the Fortunate,† and Donna Luiza, daughter of Duke Medina Sidonia. She was born on Saint Catherine's day, 25th of November, 1638, between the hours of eight and nine in the evening. Her mother, who was an extremely clever woman, on the death of her husband was made Queen Regent, though her son Alphonso was of age to reign. She sent over Don Francisco de Mello, to negotiate about the marriage with Charles; but the real first proposal came from Charles's mother, instigated by the French King Louis XIV. Don Francisco was empowered to offer with the Princess's hand such material advantages "as he thought no other power in Europe could offer;" and this being repeated to the King by the Earl of Manchester, he told him he would think about it. Next day the Ambassador came to the King and repeated what he had said to the Lord Chamberlain, and moreover said, "that he was authorised to offer £500,000 sterling in ready money, as a portion for the Infanta, and likewise to assign over and annex to the Crown of England, for ever, the possession of Tangier, a place likely to be of great benefit and security to the trade of England; likewise to grant to the English nation a free trade with Brazil and East Indies, which they had hitherto denied to all nations but themselves, and to put into his Majesty's hands the Island of Bombay, with its spacious towns and castles; which possessions," he said, "might be valued far above the portion in money."

Bombay has now become a valuable jewel of the English Crown, and it is not too much to say that if we had retained Tangiers the country in that part of the world might have been in a more advanced state of civilisation than it is now. Portugal had during the Commonwealth revolted against Spain, and re-established her monarchy. Don John of Braganza had, on the advice of his clever wife, thrown off the yoke of Spain; and Cromwell, while he was carrying on his war with Spain, had supported the Portuguese revolt. The marriage was no doubt

* Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, Vol. V., pp. 478-9, and 485.

† John claimed the Throne of Portugal by right of his being the grandson of Donna Maria, Duchess of Braganza, rightful heiress of the Royal House of Portugal.

a political one, and the dowry was tempting, as it offered to Charles's merchants great promises of trade in Africa and India, besides this sum of £500,000. It is not clear that the whole of this sum was paid to Charles. When the Queen was about to start for England her mother informed the Earl of Sandwich that she had been compelled to use the money provided for her daughter's dowry in defence of Portugal against the Spaniards. From the Earl's letter to Lord Clarendon in the Bodleian Library, he writes with respect to it that he has spent 200,000 crowns with the fleet at Lisbon, "there is 400,000 in sugar, plate and jewels on board the fleet, and 800,000 more on bills of exchange, to be paid two months after the wedlock."* This—reckoning the Portuguese crown at five shillings—would be £300,000 sent over besides £50,000 spent on the fleet at Lisbon, and it does not appear as if the balance was ever paid. The marriage was as acceptable to the English as it was apparently to the King. Charles has been accused of cruelty to his wife, and there is no doubt that she must have suffered much from the influences in his Court, which were not of a kind to suit a pure-minded lady like Catherine, and happily not of a kind that we are—in these modern days, with the experience of the purest and most virtuous Court that we have ever had—used to, but he was not of a cruel disposition. Hume remarks of him in his exile and while living at Cologne:—"In the management of his family he discovered a disposition to order and economy; and his temper, cheerful, careless and sociable, was more than a sufficient compensation for that empire of which his enemies had bereaved him." No writer can for a moment think of excusing or palliating the conduct of Charles in the license he allowed himself in his Court, and it may with justice be said that his misconduct to his Queen was cruel and inexcusable; but much may be said in excuse for him considering his experiences and the life he had to lead in his exile.

The Earl of Sandwich, sent with the fleet to bring over the Queen, was instructed also to go to Algiers to "settle the business and put the fleet in order there, and so to come back to Lisbon with three ships and there to meet the fleet that is to follow him."†

The Earl, in his diary that has been already referred to, writes on June 13th:—"About 11 a.m. I took barge at the Privy Stairs at Whitehall and boarded the *Mary* yacht at Deptford about 12 o'clock, and so sailed for the Downs, where I arrived on board the *Royal*

* Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, Vol. V., pp. 500-1.

† Pepys' *Diary*, p. 77.

James on Friday in the evening." On Sunday the Duke of York paid him a parting visit, and on the 19th he weighed anchor and left the Downs. On the arrival of the fleet off Lisbon on the 27th, Captain Bennett was sent off to Lisbon in the *Merlyn* frigate to the King of Portugal with Charles's letter, and the declaration of the "Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons assembled in Parliament concerning his Majesty's intended match with the Infanta of Portugal."

CHAPTER II.

FIRST LANDING AND OCCUPATION OF TANGIERS.

FROM 1661 TO 1662.

CONTENTS.—Arrival of the Expedition at Tangiers—Return of the Fleet to Lisbon—Commission of the Earl of Peterborough—Large powers conferred on him—To raise Horse and Foot—Appointed Captain-General—Power to employ native troops—To establish Forts—Made Vice-Admiral—Power to appoint Judges—Chief Governor of Tangiers—Power to make Laws, Punish, or Pardon—License to Trade—To raise Taxes—Accounts to be rendered—To appoint Deputies—Articles of War—Privy Seal—Estimated Cost of Troops—Gayland and Ben Bowcar—Lord Sandwich's Diary—Landing and Entry of Lord Peterborough—Preliminary Survey for the Mole—Wretched Condition of the Town—The First Council of War—Strength of the Garrison—Treaty with Gayland—Baker's Folly.

On the 29th July, Lord Sandwich arrived at Algiers and sent on shore the King's letter to the Governor, with orders to bring off the Consul, Mr. Brown.* On the 31st he bombarded the town, and rescued an Englishman named Parker, a merchant of Mark Lane, who had been captured by the Algerine pirates. The fleet then returned to Lisbon, and the Earl on the 9th relates that he visited Lisbon, and "was admitted to kiss the hands of the Queen of England." †

On the 6th September Lord Peterborough's commission for Tangiers was executed, and was as follows:—

"THE EARLE OF PETERBURGHE COMMISSION FOR TANGERS.

Charles the Second (by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.). To our right trusty, and well-beloved Cousin, Henry, Earle of Peterburg. Greeting, Whereas We intend forthwith to settle and secure our Citty of Tangers and the Terretories and Dominions adjacent in or nere the Coasts of Barbary or the Kingdomes of Sus, Fez, and Morocco, some or one of them in the continent of Africa. And for that purpose have resolved by and with the advice of oure Privy Councill forthwith to raise, drawe forth, and

* A full description of Mauritania, or Morocco, including the early history of Tangiers, is given in Appendix A.

† Kennet's Register, pp. 471, 512, 537.

Transport thither such forces of horse and foot as we shall judge necessary for our service in the Defense of the said City of Tangers and our dominions or Terretories in or neere the said kingdomes of Sus, Fez and Morocco ; knowe ye therefore that wee reposeing an especiall trust and confidence in your honor, courage, wisdom, and fidelity, have constituted and ordeyned, and by these our letters Patent doe make, constitute, ordeyne, and appoint you, the said Henry, Earle of Peterburgh, Captaine Generall of all forces, both Horse and foot, raised, or to be raised, and nowe sent, or Which hereafter shalbe sent by our royall authority or Comissions, and of all other forces Whatsoever. Which are or shall remaine or be drawne into our City of Tanger or anie other of our Dominions or terretories in or neere the said kingdomes of Sus, Fez and Morocco, and of all Forts, Castells, Citties, or other parts or places whatsoever which by your good conduct and successes shall be reduced to our obedience and subjeccon, and wee doe hereby give and graunt unto you the said Henry, Earle of Peterburgh, our Captaine General, full power and authority by beat of drum, proclamacons or otherwise in our name to raise, lift, arme, array, and put under command such and soe many Voluntiers both of horse and foot Within this our kingdome of England or anie other our kingdomes or Dominions as shall make upp and compleate the numbers designed by us in the establishment for that service, and to give comissions to officers and Comaunders to be sett over them, and to conduct, lead, and embark the said officers and soldyers to be transported to our saide Cittie of Tanger, and to remove or cashier anie such officers or soldyers as to you shall seeme convenient, and wee doe further by these presents give full power and authoritie to you our said Captaine generall from time to tyme to muster, exercise and traine our said forces, And all other our armyes and forces Which you shall there raise or entertaine into our service or which shall be sent to you from hence or anie other place, and to arme, traine, conduct, and lead out, or otherwise employ the Natives or other Inhabitants if need shall require and with them to defend our said City of Tanger and anie other our Dominions which already are or which shall hereafter bee in our power or possion and to leade them forth against anie enemies, Rebels, or Traytors, And them to fight, kill, and slay and subdue to our obedience, and to invade surprize and reduce such Townes, Forts, Castles, or Countreys as shall declare or mainteine anie hostilitie against us, or that may indanger the peace or securitie of our Cittie or terretories aforesaid, and to possesse and strengthen them with Forts or garrisons, raze, dismantle, or disable them as to you shall seeme expedient, and to arme, discipline, and to enterteine into your service all such as you shall thinke fitt to receive under your comaund out of anie the kingdomes dominions or terretories aforesaid and we doe further by these presents ordeine and appoint you one of our vice Admiralls, with power to give orders and Comaunds to all our navall forces and Comaunders at sea, that shall be appointed by us or our authority to attend the service of our said Cittie of Tanger, and upon the Coast of Africa, and likewise to require them by your orders or instruccons to prosecute anie designe, Which you shall Judge to be for our Service, and alsoe When and Where you shall thinke meet to appoint constitute and keepe a Courte of Admiralty, and appoint Judges and Officers for the same for the heareing and determinieing all maritime causes belonging to the Jurisdiccon of a Court Admirall as it is exercised in England, and for the better discipline of the forces under your comaund both by land and sea. We doe hereby give you full power and authoritie to ordeyne, publish and

execute lawes and ordinances Martiall according to the constitutions and practice of a Courte Martiall, and to punish by death or otherwise, or to pardon offences, as in your discrecon you shall judge meete, and we doe hereby give unto you all such further powers p^rheminences and authorityes as to a Captaine Generall or to one of our Vice Admiralls doe anie Wayes belong or appteyne, and we doe by these our letters patents make, ordeine, and constitute you our Chiefe Governor of our Said City of Tanger and suburbs thereof, and of all other Citytes, Townes, Villages, Forts, Castles, Islands, lands, and countreyes which nowe are, or which hereafter dureing this our Commission shall be delivered or reduced to our obedience within anie of the kingdomes aforesaid, and doe hereby give you Authoritie to make, approve, and execute such lawes and ordinances, making the same as neere as may bee conformeable to the lawes of England for the better carrying on of the civill governement of our said City of Tanger, or anie other our Citytes or places which are or shall happen to be under your comaund as may best stand with the peace and the good governement of the people and places comaunded by you, and to punish, pardon, or remitt offences against anie of the lawes or ordinances aforesaid, and wee doe hereby further authorise you to enterteine trade, and to give licenses to others to trade, and to p^rceed by such Wayes and Meanes for the advance and incouragement of trade as you in your discrecon shall thinke fitt, until you shall receive further or other direcons from us, and to appoint and establish officers proper for the administracon of publicke Justice as may best suite with your interests, and with such Instrucons as you shall receive from us from time to tyme, and to impose and raise such reasonable Taxes, contribucons, Customes, and other payments as you shall judge necessary to our Affaires. And our Will and pleasure is that all confiscacons, prizes, goods, merchandizes condemned by a Court of Admiralty, and all other forfeitures, Customes, or other payments or p^rfitts which shall be taken by you be put into an Accompt, which Accompt shall be transmitted hither unto us or to such as We shall appoint once every yeare, and that you imploy the proceeds thereof to our service for the supply of the magazines or forces under your command, untill we shall order you to dispose otherwise of the same, and wee doe further impower you under your hand and seale to ordeyne and Appoint your deputie or deputies by what name or qualitie you shall thinke fitt to execute all or anie of these powers and authorities by these presents graunted unto you and we doe give to such person or persons soe appointed by you full power and authoritie to doe and execute Whatsoever hee or they respectively shall be by you appointed to doe or execute to have hold exercise and enjoy the said offices of Captaine Generall Chiefe Governor and Vice Admirall and all and every the powers and authorities aforesaid by you and by your deputie and deputies as aforesaid dureing our will and pleasure, and further Wee doe hereby give and graunt for us our heyres and successors that for Whatsoever either you or anie by your Comission Warrant or Comaund shall lawfully doe by vertue of this our Comission or the instrucons which you at any time shall receive from us the shewing forth of these our letters patents or the inrollment thereof shall be in all and every of our Courts and elsewhere in our Dominions a sufficient discharge and acquittal in that behalfe to you or such as shall act under you against us, our heyres and successors, and free you and them from all impeachment and other molestacon for the same. In witnes, &c. Witnes ourselves at West^m the Sixth day of September."

This commission, as will be seen, gives full powers to act as governor and admiral, to raise men in the kingdom or any other place, to give commissions to officers, to make laws, &c. Before the Earl set sail he was further furnished with the fullest and most particular instructions in a series of nine articles, the summary of which is as follows:—

1. By virtue of his commission he is to receive under his command the Regiments of horse and foot raised in England, and the two Regiments from Dunkirk and from rendezvous at Portsmouth, to sail directly to Tangiers.
2. To take over on arrival the city and country with Artillery from our brother the King of Portugal.
3. To signify to the Earl of Sandwich the delivery of Tangiers, and to send a trusty person to Lisbon with bills of exchange when the same is to be paid, and sent in a good ship to Tangiers.
4. Endeavour to take into the King's service such Portugal Horse as are willing to continue there, &c.
5. Not to apply the provisions or pay of soldiers to support inhabitants, &c.
6. As he has been given powers to make treaties he is to refer all his agreements to the King's ratification, and if the King refuse to ratify them they are to be no longer legal.
7. That Tangiers is to be a free port and that a mole is to be constructed for the sake of a sure shipping. He is to advise of the best ways and means for securing a good trade in the country, and to invite the subjects of the King to reside there and trade.
8. To be permitted to come home if necessary, but to leave a Deputy in his place with full powers to act in his absence.
9. If Tangiers fails to be delivered to him he is to return home, if upon joint advice with Lord Sandwich you shall not agree upon some further design for our service.*

On the 13th of September the first issue of pay for the Tangiers Garrison was issued as follows:—

FIRST PRIVY SEAL FOR £3,800.

“To the Treasurer and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer now and for the time being:—

Charles the second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defend' of the Faith, &c. To the Treasurer and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer now and for the time being Greeting our Will and pleasure is and we doe hereby require and Authorize you out of our Treasury remayning in the receipts of our Exchequer to paye or cause to be paid to our Right Trusty and right well beloved Couzen Henry Earle of Peterburgh, our Governour of Tanger in Africa or to his assignes the sune of three thousand eight hundred pounds of lawfull money of England being for his own Paie, and also for rayeing one hundred Horse and Fifteen hundred Foote for our service in our said Towne of

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 1, 1661-2.

Tanger, the same to bee paid by waie of imprest and upon account. And these our Letters shall bee yor sufficient Warrant and Discharge in this behalf.

Given under our Privey Seale at our Pallace of Westminster the Thirteenth day of September in the thirteenth year of our Reigne.

(Signed)

“ H. WATKINS.”

The paper was endorsed, “The Copie of the Privie Seale for the Advance of Paie to the Earle of Peterburgh, 13th Sept., 1661.”

In the Tangiers State Papers is a document evidently drawn up by the Earl of Peterborough, in which he, after referring to the commands he has received from the Lords in Council, “to prepare some heads to be offered to their Lordships in order to ye Framing of Instructions to be given me for ye good governing of His Ma^{ty}s interests in those parts,” he goes on to observe that “in order to deal with ye Princes and Natives it will be necessary I should know ye ends His Ma^{ty} does in these parts propose to himself,” and asks to have full power “to treat and conclude what conditions for peace he may deem necessary, as also for “ye assurance and increase of trade to all His Ma^{ty}s subjects in those parts;” and, lastly, he asks to receive instructions as “to encouragement and invitation of His Majesty’s subjects and strangers to deal or reside in Tangiers;” also permission to make a mole, and how he is to behave himself “to ye neighbouring Spaniards, either upon ye Continent wth us or in ye other side of ye Straights.” A memorandum of Secretary Nicholas is on the paper, which notes that he is to have power to make a treaty “according to his good direction in order to ye p^rs^vacon of His Ma^{ty}s interest and ye advantage and good of trade;” and that he is to have six able men to consider of making a mole, and to send an estimate of the charge.*

On the 9th October, 1661, “The Establishment of the Forces for Tangiers” was issued, and the paper is signed by Secretary Nicholas. As this is the first Establishment paper for Tangiers, it is given entire. It will be seen that the Establishment was to consist of Four Regiments of Foot (two of 1,000 men each, and two of 500 men each, or a total of 3,000 foot soldiers, and a troop of horse of 100 men), the charges per annum for each arm, contingencies, and general officers being as stated :—

	£	s.	d.	
3,000 Foot Soldiers	59,531	10	0	per annum.
100 Horse	6,079	15	10	„ „
General Officers	3,998	7	6	„ „
Contingencies	1,000	0	0	„ „
Making a total cost of	70,609	13	4	„ „

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 1, 1661-2.

CHARLES R.

AN ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FORCES RAISED THE XTH DAY OF OCTOBER, 1661,
FOR HIS MATIES SERVICE IN THE KINGDOMES OF SUS, FEZ, AND MOROCCO,
UNDER THE COMAND OF HIS EXCELENCIE Y^E EARLE OF PETERBURGH.

FEILD AND STAFE OFFICERS of his Exc^{ty} owne Regiment of Foote.

	Per Diem.	Mensem.	Annum.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Collonell as Collonell att	12 00	016 16 00	00219 00 00
Lieutennant Collonell as Lieutennant Collonell	07 00	009 16 00	00127 15 00
Major as Major at	05 00	007 00 00	00091 05 00
Chaplaïne at vj ^a viij ^d	06 08	009 06 08	00121 13 04
Chirurgēon at 4 ^a with a Mate at 2 ^a 6 ^d	06 06	009 02 00	00118 12 06
Quartermaster as Quartermaster at ...	04 00	005 12 00	00073 00 00
Martiall as Martiall at	02 06	003 10 00	00045 12 06
Gun Smith at	02 06	003 10 00	00045 12 06
Totall	2 06 02	064 12 08	00842 10 10

A COMPANIE OF FOOTE:

Captaine at	08 00	011 04 00	00146 00 00
Lieutennant at	04 00	005 12 00	00073 00 00
Ensigne at	03 00	004 04 00	00054 15 00
Two Sergants at xvij ^d each p ^r daie ...	03 00	004 04 00	00054 15 00
Three Corporalls at xij ^d each p ^r daie ...	03 00	004 04 00	00054 15 00
Two Drummers at xij ^d each p ^r daie ...	02 00	002 16 00	00036 10 00
And one hundred souldiers ix ^d each p ^r daie	3 15 00	105 00 00	01368 15 00
Totall	4 18 00	137 04 00	01788 10 00

The paie of nine such companies as are
above exprest to compleat a Regim^t
of one thousand sould^r besides offi-
cers will amount to

44 02 00 1234 16 00 16096 10 00

The totall of one Regim^t consisting of
one Thousand Sould^r besides Officers
amounts to

51 06 02 1436 12 08 18727 10 10

One Regim^t more consisting of the same
numbers both Sold^r and Officers ...

51 06 02 1436 12 08 18727 10 10

FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS of Collonell — Regiment under the command of his Excelencie the Earle of Peterburgh.

	Per Diem.	Mensem.	Annum.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Collonell as Collonell	12 00	016 16 00	00219 00 00
Lieutennant Collonell as Lieutenant Collonell	07 00	009 16 00	00127 15 00
Major as Major at	05 00	007 00 00	00091 05 00
Quartermaster and Martiall to be executed by one	03 00	004 04 00	00054 15 00
Total	1 07 00	037 16 00	00492 15 00

A COMPANIE :

Captaine att	08 00	011 04 00	00146 00 00
Lieutennant att... ..	04 00	005 12 00	00073 00 00
Ensigne att	03 00	004 04 00	00054 15 00
Sergeant	01 06	002 02 00	00027 07 06
Two Corporalls at xij ^d each p ^r daie ...	02 00	002 16 00	00036 10 00
Drummer at xij ^d p ^r daie	01 00	001 08 00	00018 05 00
And fiftie sould ^{rs} at ix ^d p ^r daie ...	1 17 06	052 10 00	00684 07 06
Total	2 17 00	79 16 00	01040 05 00

The paie of nine more companies consisting of the same numb ^r will amount to	25 13 00	718 04 00	09362 05 00
The totall of one Regiment consisting of five hundred sould ^{rs} besides officers amount	29 17 00	835 16 00	10895 05 00
One Regiment more of the same nomb ^r both officers and sould ^{rs} amounts to	29 17 00	835 16 00	10895 05 00
Generall officers to bee allowed to the two Regiment ^s above consisting of 500 men each Regim ^t Chaplaine at	06 08	009 06 08	00121 13 04
Chirurgion at 4 ^s and a Mate at 2 ^s 6 ^d	06 06	009 02 00	00118 12 06
Gun Smith at ij ^s vj ^d	02 06	003 10 00	00045 12 06
Total	15 08	021 18 08	00285 18 04

The totall charge of 4 Regim^{ts} consisting of 3000 sould^{rs} besides officers...163 02 00 4566 16 00 59531 10 00

FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS OF HORSE :

	Per Diem.	Mensem.	Annum.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Collonell as Collonell	12 00	016 16 00	00219 00 00
Chaplain at	06 08	009 06 08	00121 13 04
Chirurgion att iij ^s with a horse at 2 ^s	06 00	008 08 00	00109 10 00
Quartermast ^r at 4 ^s with a horse at ij ^s	06 00	008 08 00	00109 10 00
Gunsmith at ij ^s vj ^d	02 06	003 10 00	00045 12 06
Total	1 13 02	046 08 08	00605 05 10

A TROOPE OF HORSE :

Captaine at 10 ^s with two horses at 2 ^s	14 00	019 12 00	00225 10 00
Lieu ^t at 6 ^s with two horses at 2 ^s ...	10 00	014 00 00	00182 10 00
Cornett at 5 ^s with two horses at 2 ^s	09 00	012 12 00	00164 05 00
Three trumpeters at 2 ^s 8 ^d each ...	08 00	011 04 00	00146 00 00
Three Corporalls at 3 ^s	09 00	012 12 00	00164 05 00
And one hundred sould ^{rs} at 2 ^s 6 ^d each	12 10 00	330 00 00	04562 00 00
Total	15 00 00	420 00 00	05474 10 00

The totall charge of horse	16 13 02	466 08 08	06079 15 10
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GENERAL OFFICERS WITH THOSE OF THE TRAYNE :

The Lord Generall	5 09 7 ³ / ₅	153 08 5 ⁴ / ₃	02000 00 00
Judge Advocate at 8 ^s with a Clarke at 2 ^s 6 ^d	10 06	014 14 00	00191 12 06
Secretary at 5 ^s	05 00	007 00 00	00091 05 00
Phisitians two at 10 ^s with an Apothecary at 5 ^s	1 05 00	0035 00 00	00456 05 00
Engineers at x ^s	10 00	014 00 00	00182 10 00
Provost Marshal at 6 ^s w th two assist- ances at 1 ^s 6 ^d	09 00	012 12 00	00164 05 00
Commisary of Musters at vj ^s ...	06 00	008 08 00	00109 10 00
Commisary of Provisions at 5 ^s with a man at 1 ^s 6 ^d	06 06	009 02 00	00118 12 06
Comissary of Amunition at 2 ^s 6 ^d ...	02 06	003 10 00	00045 12 06
Firemaster at 5 ^s	05 00	007 00 00	00091 05 00
Towne Major	05 00	007 00 00	00091 05 00
Gunners 6 at 1 ^s 6 ^d ; 6 Gunners Mates at 12 ^d and 12 Matrosses att 10 ^d each	1 05 00	035 00 00	00456 05 00
Total	10 19 01³/₅	306 14 5⁴/₃	03998 07 06

The foure Regiments of Foote...	.. 163 02 00	4566 16 00	59631 10 00
The Horse amounts to ... ..	..016 13 02	0466 08 08	06079 15 10
The Generall Officers ... ..	..010 19 01 ³ / ₅	306 14 05 ⁴ / ₃	03998 07 06
The Contingencies ... ..	.. 002 14 9 ⁴ / ₃	076 14 02 ³ / ₅	01000 00 00
The Totall Charge is ... ..	..193 08 00 ⁴ / ₃	5416 13 04 ⁴ / ₃	70609 13 04

By his Mat^{rs} com^dand,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

In addition to this English establishment there was to be a troop of 80 Portuguese horse, at an annual cost of £4,778 9s. 2d., making the total cost of the Tangiers Military Establishment to be £75,388 2s. 6d.!* The estimate being as follows:—

CHARLES R.

AN ADDICONALL ESTABLISHM^t FOR A TROOPE OF PORTUGALL HORSE CONSISTING OF EIGHTY COMON TROOPERS WITH THEIRE OFFICERS FOR REINFORCEINE HIS MAT^{ies} GUARISON OF TANGER.

	Per Diem.	Mensem.	Annum.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
A Captaine at 10 ^s with two Horses			
at 2 ^s each is	14 00	019 12 00	00255 10 00
A Lieutennant at 6 ^s with two Horses			
at 2 ^s each is... ..	10 00	014 00 00	00182 10 00
A Cornett at 5 ^s with two Horses at			
2 ^s each is	09 00	012 12 00	00164 05 00
A Quartermaster at 4 ^s with a Horse			
at 2 ^s is	06 00	008 08 00	00109 10 00
Two Trumpeters at 2 ^s 8 ^d each is ...	05 04	007 09 04	00097 06 08
Three Corporalls at 3 ^s is	09 00	012 12 00	00164 05 00
Eighty Troopers at 2 ^s 6 ^d each is ...	10 00 00	280 00 00	03650 00 00
A Chirurgion at 4 ^s with a Horse at			
2 ^s is	06 00	008 08 00	00109 10 00
A Gunsmith at 2 ^s 6 ^d is... ..	02 06	003 10 00	00045 12 06
Total	013 01 10	366 11 04	04778 09 02
Total of y ^e former Establishm ^t ...	193 08 00 ⁴ / ₃	5416 13 04 ⁴ / ₃	70609 13 04
Total of y ^e whole Establishm ^t ...	206 9 10 ⁴ / ₃	5783 4 8 ⁴ / ₃	75388 2 6

By his Mat^{ies} com'and,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The King met his Council on the 25th October, to establish the pay of the garrison, and to consider a memorial which was then read at the Council, presented by his Excellency the Earl of Peterborough, "Captain-General of His Majesty's Forces, designed for his service in the kingdoms of Sus, Fez, and Morocco, in order to the better discharging of his duty in the said employment, and upon due consideration had upon each particular His Majesty was pleased to declare that the payment of the garrison of Tangier should be carefully provided, and that the same should be paid from three months to three months constantly, and to that purpose that his Excellency's agent should attend and from time to time apply himself to the Lord Treasurer of England."

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 1, 1661-2.

The lords and gentlemen present were:—

The Lord Chancellor	...	...	Earl of Anglesey.
„ „ Treasurer	...	...	Earl of Carlisle.
„ „ Privy Seal	...	...	Earl of Lauderdale.
„ Duke of Albemarle	...	...	Lord Seymour.
„ „ Ormond	...	...	Lord Ashley.
„ Marquesse of Dorchester	...	...	The Vice-Chamberlaine.
„ Lord Chamberlaine	...	...	Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Mr. Secretary Morrice.

A Royal Warrant was issued on the same day, appointing as Commissioners for taking into consideration the Establishment prepared for the expedition of Tangier, Thomas, Earl of Southampton, “and our two Principal Secretaries of State, or any two, provided the Duke of Albemarle is one.”

Warrants were also issued for the payment of the following sums in the months of September, October, and November, “granted to the Earl of Peterborough on account of the Tangiers garrison, and to provide men, arms, ammunition, horses, &c., and other necessaries for the garrison.* It is curious to note in these early warrants of expenses the sums to be paid, according to custom, to the princes and natives of the country adjacent to Tangiers, and amount also for “Intelligence and extraordinary services.”

The warrants for pay referred to were as follows:—				£	s.	d.
For providing a Magazine for men and horse ..	...	...	...	17,872	10	8
Two months' advance of pay for the Garrison...	...	...	...	8,936	5	4
The Governor's pay, and “also for raising 100 horse and 1,500 ffoote for His Majesty's service in the said town of Tangier.”	...	...	...	3,800	0	0
For four months' pay for 20 drummers, 3 gunners, and 3 gunners' mates	...	...	...	135	6	8
And for 2 months advance of pay to above	...	...	...	67	13	4
For four months' provisions for three “Troops of Horse, officers and soldiers added to the establishment”	...	...	...	15,965	17	4
Two months' pay for above	...	...	...	2,982	18	8
Four months' pay for officers of “our Regiment of ffoote” added to the former establishment	...	...	...	1527	17	4

* In the Public Record Office is a curious paper, giving the cost of clothing one of the Tangiers Regiments. It is entitled “Sir Robert Harley's account for £2,000 paid for clothes for the Reg^t of Foot under his command at Tangier;” and it gives: “1,000 red coats at 13s. 8d. each; 200 white shirts at 3s. 2d. each; 1,000 pairs of breeches at 7s. 10d. per pair; 2,000 pairs of stockings at 1s. 6d. per pair; 2,000 pairs of shoes at 3s. 3d. per pair; 1,000 Monmouth caps at 2s. 7d. per cap.”—Audit Office Declared Accounts, No. 578, Roll 504. 1661.

2,000 dollars* "to be paid according to custom to the Princes and natives of ye country adjacent to Tangier on his first entrance upon that Government."	£	s.	d.
For Intelligence and Extraordinary Service, and upon account	600	0	0
Two months' pay advanced to "one Regiment of ffoote added to y ^e form ^r Estab ^t "	763	18	8
The somme for the same "for the Officers of a 4th Regiment added," &c., &c.	763	18	8
The same upon act. for four months' pay to the same "to be employed for raising a Magazine there"	1,525	17	4
For contingencies	600	0	0
„ Donation to "Commander and Chiefe persons of the country adjacent to the said Toune, according to the custom of the first entrance," &c.	400	0	0
For six weeks' pay "for ye Regiment of ffoote under his command"	3,084	11	0

A somewhat similar series of payments appears in some State Papers in the Record Office ("Audit Office declared accounts,") from which some valuable details have been obtained. There is also a payment of a sum of £1,800 "in part of his (the Earl's) personal pay, and for the raising of 100 Horse with 1,500 Foot for service at Tangier, and as the King's gift in consideration of his expenses for his own proper provisions." A further account in the same papers for £1,028, though dated 1663,† is for payment "on account for the discharge of the Quarters of the said forces" on their march before embarkation for Tangiers, and a curious payment for "several Footmen and others who were made Horsemen," amounting to £2,199 8s. The first shipment of stores for Tangiers was sent about the end of October, as an Admiralty Paper of the 17th gives the weight of them to be 200 tons, "but some are rather bulky than heavy."‡ On the 14th October the "Troops of Horse under the command of the Right Honourable the Earl of Peterborough, for his Majesty's service in Tangiers, consisting of 100 well appointed men, was mustered in St. George's Fields. The Captain Lieutenant is Robert Leech,§ and Captain Mordaunt, Cornet."||

The Regiment of Foot mustered on the 14th October at Putney Heath, and consist of 1,000 private soldiers complete, besides Officers. The chief Officers of the Regiment of Foot were:—

* A dollar, or a "piece of eight" varied, of course, according to the exchange, from a maximum value of 5s. to 4s. 4d., which is sometimes given as its value.

† Audit Office Declared Accounts, No. 161, Roll 435.

‡ State Papers (Domestic), 1661, Vol. XLIII., p. 120.

§ In "A Description of Tangiers" (in the British Museum) this officer is called Levett.

|| Mercurius Publicus, 1661.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Peterborough	Colonel.
Sir James Smith 	Lieutenant-Colonel.
Roger Johnson 	Major.

CAPTAINS.

1. Ambrose Blake.	5. Stephen Belletore.
2. Palmes Fairborne.	6. Cuthbert Car.
3. Francis Aunesley.	7. John Clerke.
4. Humphrey Colls.	

Quartermaster, Captain John Nevil.*

Captain Nerve is also named in "A Description of Tangiers," as one of the Captains, but it is most likely a mistake for "Nevil." The King, in a letter † to the Earl of Peterborough, dated 21st December, wrote to express his sense of the "care and diligence" exercised in raising the troops, and finished his letter by desiring the Earl to "lett those honest men knowe who are along with you y^t they shall allwayes be in my particular care and protection as persons y^t venture themselves in my service; and soe wishing you a good voyage, I remain,

"Y^r very aff^{nate} friend, CHARLES R."

Lord Sandwich was at this time lying in the Bay of Tangiers keeping guard over our new possession, and his diary, kept daily with much care, notes on the 8th, Sunday, that the Dutch fleet had been seen, fourteen sail of men-of-war, off the Bay of Tanga, and the next day the ship *Portland* came in from Tetuan, and the captain reported that he had seen Sir John Lawson "flying to windward amongst several of the Dutch fleet, and that seven of their men of war are come out of the straights in his sight close aboard the Spanish coast supposing they be going to Cales" [Calais]. The Earl was receiving constant letters from the Duke of York. Gayland, the Moorish chief, of whom much will be heard of in this history, had been visited by Mr. Herbert, and he had returned on the 2nd December with one of his people "to help us with wood and water." A report was brought in the same day that the fleet with the Earl of Peterborough at the Isle of Wight was expecting to set sail at once. The ships in Tangiers Bay, on the 10th December, were: the *Royal James*, *Mary*, *Montague*, *Portland*, *Princess*, *Yarmouth*, *Hampshire*, and *Augustine*. Mr. Mules and the Aidill of Tangier came on board and dined with the Earl on the 17th December, no doubt to ask for help if need be against the Moors, as on Saturday, January 4th, he writes to Mr. Mules offering the help of 400 men.

Royal Warrants for Tangier now came thick and fast. In January

* *Mercurius Publicus*, 1661.

† *Bibl. Harl.* 6,844; and *Cannon's Record of the Second Foot*, page 2.

Thomas Povey * was appointed Paymaster and Exchanger of Moneys, not only for the port and town of Tangier, but for "all and every other our garrisons, forts, soldiers, armies, and forces whatsoever and wheresoever in that part of Africa which now do and shall hereafter belong to us, our heirs and successors."

The Government of Charles had been having some trouble with the garrison of Dunkirk, and the cost of it was becoming a serious item in the King's accounts. It had been decided to send over three of the Regiments from Dunkirk to the new possession of Tangiers, and these three Regiments, with the Governor's, Lord Peterborough's, make up the four provided for in the establishment.

On the 9th December, Lord Rutherford, who had succeeded Sir Edward Harley as Governor of Dunkirk, shipped off the three Regiments in the *York*, the *Dover*, *Breda*, *Elias*, *Paul*, *Alexander*, and *Unicorn*; and a journal in noticing the event remarks, that "this day† (the 9th), being (by the Lord Rutherford, our Governor) appointed for the shipping of his Majesties forces which goe from hence to Tangier, both English and Irish accordingly were embarked in the several vessels which to that purpose were riding in this Road. Lieutenant-Colonel Kingwell did so well manage that business there that none did ever go to Sea upon any forraigne designe with greater willingness and courage than that Regiment of English, so that in this one Regiment there are 1,244 veterane souldiers besides officers.' The total number of soldiers shipped is given in another authority at "3,200 old souldiers," and amongst the Officers not mentioned occurs—in this account—the names of Colonels Fitzgerald and Farrel.‡

The *York*, commanded by Captain Allen, carried 264 men of the companies of Colonel Kingwell and Sir Robert Harley; the *Dover*, Captain Haywood, took out 180 men of the companies of Major Fiernes§ and Captain Brooks (half of the latter); the *Breda*, Captain Hasgrove, 180 men of Captains Lloyd and Brooks (half of the latter); the *Elias*, Captain Date, 360 men of the companies of Captains Herbert, Emerson and James; the *Paul*, Captain Myerd, 260 men of the Companies of Captains Baullard and Summers. The two Irish Regiments went shipped in the *Alexander* and *Unicorn*, but particulars of them have not been obtained.

There seems to have been considerable delay in the departure of

* Thomas Povey was M.P. for Bossiney in 1658, had a house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and he appears, according to an ancient Plan of Whitehall Palace, to have had apartments there also.—Pepys' Diary, pp. 102 and 122.

† Mercurius Publicus, 1661.

‡ A Description of Tangiers.

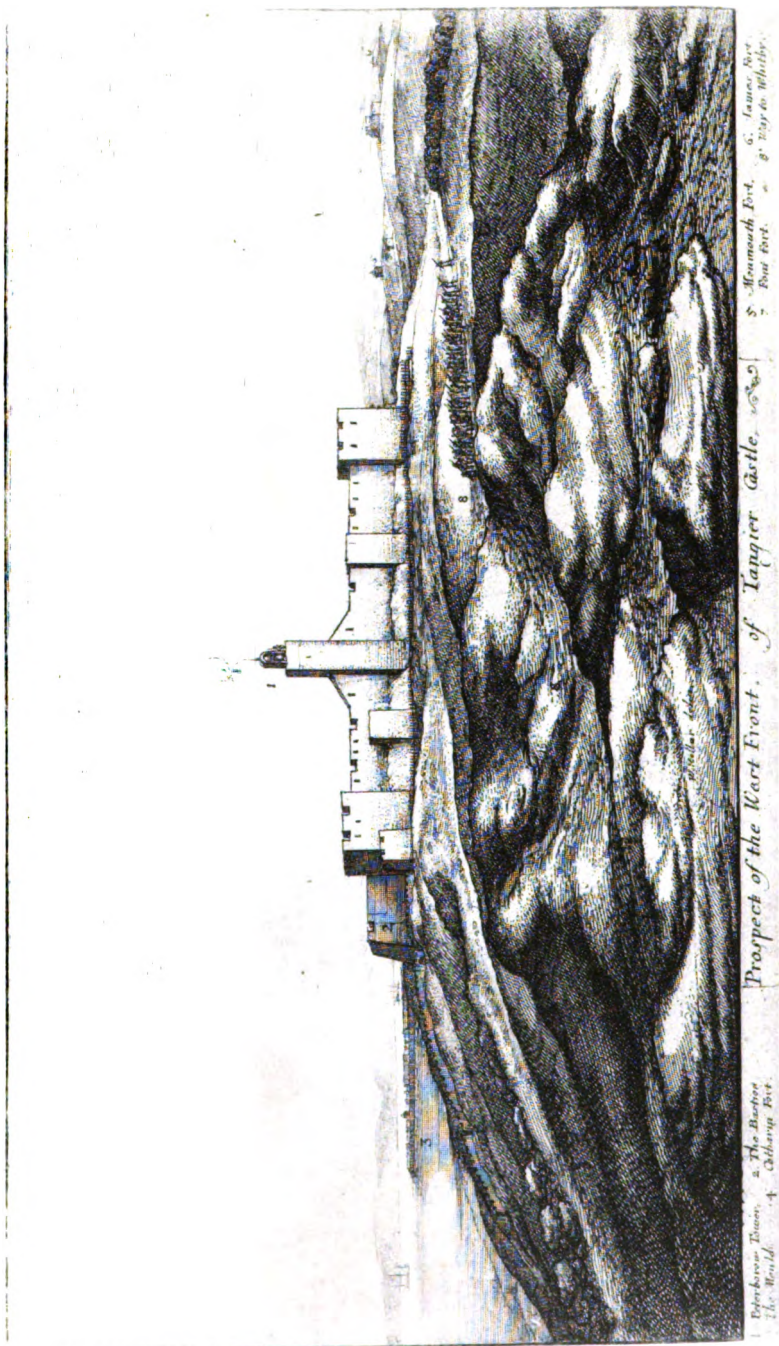
§ Also given as Fiennes in other places.

Lord Peterborough from England, as on the 1st of December Evelyn writes that he went to take leave of "Lo. Peterborow, going now to Tangiers, which was to be delivered to the English on the match with Portugal." * It was not till the 15th of January, 1662, that the fleet, with the Earl of Peterborough on board, left the Downs. It consisted of nineteen ships, besides several Merchants' Convoys, the whole being under the command of Admiral Sir John Minnes. They had very fine weather and arrived at Tangiers on the 29th January. They found the town partly taken over by a detachment of seamen.

Lord Sandwich in his diary gives an account of a sally made by the Portuguese, with 140 Horse, on the 14th January, into the country surrounding Tangiers. They captured 400 head of cattle, thirty camels and some horses, and thirty-five women and girls; but on returning, and when within six miles of Tangiers, they were intercepted by the Moors, about one hundred of them armed with harquebuses. The Moors charged the Portuguese, the Aidill was killed with a shot in the head, and the rest of the Portuguese at once took to flight, fifty-one were slain in the pursuit, twelve of them being knights, and the whole of the booty and prisoners recaptured. This disaster alarmed the Portuguese garrison of Tangiers and on the 14th they went on board the fleet to ask for help in holding the town. Lord Sandwich sent on the 16th, at 4 p.m., eighty men from his own ship and the *Princess* into the Lower Castle, and on the next day, at 10 a.m., he sent Sir Richard Stayner with one hundred and twenty more men to their assistance. On the 23rd he says he sent one hundred more men into Tangiers, "so that now I have between 3 and 400 men in the town and Castles and the command of all the strengths and magazines." The fleet in the Bay at this time consisted of the *Royal James*, *Mary*, *Montague*, *Ann*, *Princess*, *Yarmouth*, *Norwich*, *Colchester*. "The *Nightengale*, *Merlyn*, and *Nonsuch* Ketch are at Calais [Calais] for provisions."

Lord Sandwich had been advised that great endeavours were being made by the Spaniards (and even by the Portuguese in command, who were furious at the place being given up to the English), to prevent Tangiers being handed over. By Lord Sandwich's prudent management in giving assistance to the Portuguese against the Moors, the difficulties Lord Peterborough might have had in taking possession were much alleviated. The inhabitants also of the city were reported to be against the English occupation. A writer† describing Tangier at the time of its being handed over to the English says it was "situated

* Evelyn's Diary, p. 281, 1st December, 1661. † A Description of Tangiers.



VIEW OF THE WEST FRONT OF TANGIER CASTLE.

From the Engraving by Hollar in the Royal Library at Windsor.

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are illiterate has increased from 1.2 billion to 1.5 billion. The number of illiterate people in the world is projected to reach 1.7 billion by the year 2015. The number of illiterate people in the world is projected to reach 1.7 billion by the year 2015.

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$\gamma = 8.4 \times 10^{-4}$ (10)

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1. $\text{H}^1(\mathbb{R}^n, \mathbb{R}) \cong \mathbb{R}^n$ (Poincaré duality).

© 2004 Blackwell Publishing Ltd, *Journal of Internal Medicine* 255: 101–108

Levy, p. 13. To be read, 1942. * A. 1. 1. 1.

controlling for multiple comparisons.

strongly on the side of a hill having one gate only to the water side, and landward four gates, one within the other; and a great many cannon were mounted on the walls of it; and in the middle of it we saw a fountain of water that continually runneth with a very full stream that conveyeth itself under the Town." Pepys, in his Diary, relates that he received letters on the 20th February from Lord Sandwich, "telling me how a greate defete given to the Portuguese there by the Moors, he had put in 300 men into the town, and so he is in possession, of which we are very glad because now the Spaniards' designs of hindering our getting the place are frustrated."* The town was found to be very crowded, and difficulties were experienced in finding proper quarters for the soldiers and people until the Portuguese were shipped off. A ruined castle (York Castle) was hastily fitted up for the reception of Lord Peterborough and his Regiment and Staff. A letter from Mr. Luke, the Secretary, relates that, "The day after the fleete arrived my Lord entered only with his own Regiment, for the receiving of which there were partitions of walls and very little better in a ruinated castle appointed." Don Lewis de Almeida was the Governor in charge, and he and the principal men of the city at once on the arrival of Lord Peterborough commenced to make arrangements to send away the Portuguese. A journal of this time,† in noting the circumstance of the arrival of the fleet, writes that the fleet arrived on the 29th, "their voyage being very pleasant, and found the Earl of Sandwich riding in the Road, and Sir Richard Stayner in the Towne with some Officers of the Fleet and Seamen;" and further, that the Earl of Peterborough took possession of the town on the 30th. They further inform their readers that "this country is very pleasant; they have brought us in cattle, and tell us we shall want for nothing that they have. One Gayland is the Prince next to us, who is now with his Army gone against Benboker (Ben Bowcar) the greate Sainte." The expedition here referred to was against Sallee, which had been left under the rule of Abdalla, Ben Bowcar, the son of the great Saint Ben Bowcar, the successful rival of Cidi Ali Haiashi.‡ This enterprising and daring Prince gave us plenty of evidence afterwards that he could be a most dangerous and uncompromising enemy, as he was also a most unscrupulous one. Lord Sandwich's diary gives the following account of the arrival and landing of Lord Peterborough and his troops:—"Wednesday, January 29th. About noon my Lord Peterborough, with the Garrison for Tangiers, arrived in the Bay

* Pepys' Diary, p. 93, 20th February, 1662. † Mercurius Publicus, 1662.

‡ A full account of old Tangiers and the Moorish Princes is given in Appendix B.

of Tangiers with twenty-seven sail of Ships; and in the afternoon his Lordship and I went ashore to see how to dispose things in Tangiers, and were received by the Governor, who delivered up his authority to my Lord Peterborough.*

"*Thursday, January 30th.*—About noon my Lord Peterborough's own Regiment was landed at Tangiers, and he himself in the head of it marched into the Town with it, and had possession of all given him, and the keys of the gates by Don Lewis de Almeida, and a horse with saddle and bridle, cimeter, silver spurs and a lance.

"*Friday, January 31st.*—Sir Richard Stayner brought our seamen on board again from the Town."

From the 1st February till the 18th, when Lord Sandwich left with the fleet for Lisbon, he was busily engaged landing stores, provisions and men, and taking off the Portuguese and their goods. He also took some pains to survey the best place for a Mole. In his journal, Thursday 6th, he says, "In the morning I went and sounded about the ledge of rocks to see the most convenient place for making a mould and then went round the Town with Major Stephens. After dinner Sir James Minns, Sir Richard Stayner, Captain Cuttance and myself, went in my boat to sound again, and advise about the Mould, which as we were doing came up a great storm with spouts with a Levant wind, and so I rowed aboard." On the 8th, he relates that a Moor came in from Gayland, saying he would be with them in seven days to treat. On the 16th, he went on shore to take leave of Lord Peterborough, but the weather being bad he stayed, and about noon the ship *Dover* came in from Sallee, bringing news "that Ben Bucar [Ben Bowcar] is within a day's march of Sallee with thirty thousand men, and Gayland about Mormora with sixty thousand; when Ben Bucar advances then Gayland advances also, and then Ben Bucar retires again; in a skirmish lately Gayland killed five of the other Army, and cut off their heads, and carried them about in triumph about the Town of Old Sallee, which Town he says hath no walls, nor the Batteries whereon they have cannon hath no shelter." On the 17th, he writes, "In the afternoon came in the *Mermaid*, with Colonel Fitzgerald, and a Fly-boat laden with provisions for my Lord Peterborough; they were but eleven days out from Falmouth." Mr. Luke writes on the same day that up to this date they have been busy landing stores and shipping off the Portuguese to their country. The Portuguese seem to have been in great poverty,

* A copy of "Lawes and Ordinances of War established for the better governing His Majesty's Forces in the Kingdoms of Sus, Fez, and Morocco, under the Command of his Excellency the Earl of Peterburgh," is given in Appendix C.

and the houses they vacated were not fit to live in. They took away with them not only their furniture, but even the windows and doors of the houses. Lord Peterborough, in writing home to the Lords of Council on the 17th February, says that, "the town was delivered to him in such a condition, so full of spoile, scarcity and want, as to all such materials and utensils as could have given assistance to English Soldiers, as had not his Lordship continued his care, after we were possessed as well as he did before for Fewell, Timber, Instruments for our Artillery, and several other things of which the place as well as we were destitute, and I know not to what extremity we should have come."

The first meeting of Tangiers "Council of Warre" was held on the 12th February, at the Castle of Tangiers; present the following Officers: His Excellency the Earl of Peterborough, Colonel Farrel, Major Blaggne, Lieut.-Colonel Kingwell, Major Bulger, Lieut.-Colonel Fitzgerald, Major Johnson, Lieut.-Colonel Fines, Major Ruddiard; Mat Luke, Secretary.

The first muster of the Tangiers troops was on the 30th January, when the following were the numbers in the different Regiments.*

The Governor's Regiment, 1,000 men.

Colonel Farrel's ... 381 ..

Colonel Fitzgerald's ... 395 ..

Sir Robert Harley's ... 947 ..

Total 2,723

The English Horse 98

These numbers are exclusive of the Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Staff. The garrison was thus, at the commencement of the Tangiers occupation, nearly three hundred short of its proper establishment, and the early fights soon sadly diminished the number. The Portuguese Horse was mustered first on the 10th February, and numbered eighty men, when "It was determined that for His Ma^{ty's} Service in Maineteining and settling this his considerable Guarison of Tangier, the 3 months Paie dew the last of February, and to bee then paid, as by order of Council passed the 25th of October for the Paiement of the Guarison frome 3 months to 3 months, should be imploied as followth. Such part of it as will provide a quantity of pease, and oatmeal for 3,218 men 3 months, after the rate of 4 pints

* Cannon says (History of Second Regiment of Foot, p. 4.) that these Battalions sent from Dunkirk were part of the loyal forces that fought for Charles I. In the Civil War, 1657, they entered into the Spanish service, and in 1660, were placed in the Garrison of Dunkirk; as will be seen later on they were all incorporated into the Second Queen's.

of pease and 3 pints of oatmeal a weeke to each man, should be put into the hands of some trusty person in England, with order to provide the same to be sent hither wth all the expedition possible." *

Gayland had returned from his expedition against Ben Bowcar at Sallee, and was encamped with—it was said—an army of 10,000 men within a league of Tangiers. He arrived on the 22nd March, and as soon as Lord Peterborough heard of it he sent Captains Belford and Harris to pay his respects to him. On the following day he sent Lieutenant-Colonels Kingwill and Fitzgerald and Major Bulger to treat with him for a peace, which he proposed should be for six months, to begin on the 24th, and to end 27th September. They also endeavoured to make some stipulations as to the limits of the ground from which they would be allowed to get forage for the horses.

Upon their arrival in camp, they found a banquet prepared for them, after partaking of which they were conducted to the Moorish chieftain's tent, and had their first experience of this crafty, but resolute and courageous man. The King—as he is called in the narrative from which this is taken—sat with his Council on two carpets on the ground in his tent, "all cross-legged taylor-like." After some discussion, Gayland sent three of his Council, with his secretary, into the town, to show the Lord Governor the limits of ground that it had been agreed upon should be observed. Articles were then drawn up, based upon particulars that had been arranged, and the next morning the Governor sent them to Gayland to peruse. "Whether or how they will observe these articles we know not; however, we are (as we still shall be) upon our guard." † On the 2nd April, Lord Peterborough wrote to Secretary Nicholas that he had concluded a treaty for six months with Gayland on his own terms, "for the purpose of trying to open up commerce with the Moors." The peace named seems to have been a traitorous ruse on the part of Gayland, for our men never appeared outside the walls of the town without some trifling skirmish. The Governor, on some of these occasions, irritated no doubt by these encounters when peace was always talked by his foe, marched a considerable force well beyond our lines, but always when he led them took such precautions against ambuscades that he never lost a man. A party of men, however, led by one Baker, having passed a little hill well within our lines to reconnoitre, but without proper precautions for support, were cut off to a man. The hill was for a long time called Baker's Folly.

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 1, 1661-2.

† Mercurius Publicus, 1662.

CHAPTER III.

COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.

FROM 1662 TO 1663.

CONTENTS.—First engagement with the Moors—Defeat of the English—Pay of troops from Queen's Dower—Departure of Lord Peterborough for home—Gayland's overtures for Peace—Appointment of Lord Rutherford—Pepys' opinion—Surrender of Dunkirk—Earl of Teviot—Cost of Stores—Contract for construction of Mole or Harbour—Memorandum by Lord Teviot, list of Documents—Cost of the Establishment at Tangiers—Employment of native Spies—Skirmishes with the enemy—Heavy losses of Garrison—Regimental Muster Rolls—Formation of Redoubts—The first attack—Desperate Fighting—Teviot's correspondence with Gayland—Conclusion of Peace—Gayland's letter to the King—List of Field Officers and Captains—Spanish Mission to Gayland—Instructions to Teviot—More Fighting—His death.

ON the 3rd of May a large body of the Moors appeared close to the walls of the town, and the Garrison at once flew to arms to repel what seemed a serious attack. Lieutenant-Colonel Fines* led a party of about five hundred soldiers to repel the enemy. The men were so hastily sent out, and so badly led, that after a short skirmish with the advanced party of the Moors, in which the English displayed great bravery, and drove the Moors back, but, pursuing them too far, they were caught by fresh bodies of the Moors who lay in ambush in the valleys, and the English were driven back into the town with great slaughter. In this and the preceding skirmishes and fights, since the arrival of the English at Tangiers and the appearance of Gayland with his forces before the town, enough had been done to show that we had a very dangerous and fierce foe to deal with, and one we must admit whose tactics were at first superior to our own.

The abortive and disastrous sally of Colonel Fines much disheartened the garrison, and the loss of so many brave men took the heart out of

* In other papers he is called Colonel Finnes, Fiennes, and Fiernes.
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the troops. For a time they kept within the town with the gates constantly shut and guarded. This conduct emboldened the Moors, who sometimes carried off cattle from under the walls of the town in spite of the guns which were mounted on them, and which the besieged evidently did not use to advantage. Gayland about this time set off to lay siege to Tetuan, which place, with Sallee and Tangiers, were the only places in this part of Morocco which did not owe him allegiance.

On the 18th March King Charles ordered a bill to be prepared for his signature, empowering the Treasurer of the Exchequer to pay £12,000 out of the moneys which were to be sent from Portugal (part of the Queen's marriage dowry), and to pay it "unto our right trusty and right well beloved cousin, y^e Earle of Peterburgh, in part of three months' pay for that our Garrison of Tangier, ending y^e last of February past."*

The Treasury at home had rather a task to meet all its engagements, and were obliged to look to the dowry of Catherine to help to keep up the possessions she had brought.†

Lord Peterborough started for home about the end of May, in order to give the King an account of the place and its prospects. According to Pepys he arrived in England on the 14th of June. The Spaniards

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 1, 1661-2.

† Various sums appear as payment to the forces, the rate per month being set at £5,783 4s. 7½d. The cost in the same accounts of raising 1,000 Foot and 100 Horse is given as 20s. each for the former, and 60s. each for the latter. An allowance is made for two silver trumpets and two kettledrums, with fringe and taffety for the banners for the Portuguese Horse. Provisions, "for 3,500 men for 168 days," is rated at 6d. per day. Captain Beckman is paid £52 10s. for 105 days, "from the time he was entertained in London till the other Engineer left Tangiers." The other Engineer appears by the same account to have been an Italian (name not given). The Audit Office Declared Accounts give a number of interesting items with respect to Tangiers payments.¹

In Easter term, 1662, £8,864 13s. 4d. was paid "for providing of y^e magazine of provisions." In the Michaelmas term £1,210 9s. 4d. is paid for officers of the Fourth Regiment of Foot Guards, "added to the former establishment," being pay for four months, and "towards the provision of the magazine." In the same term payment is made to the four Regiments of Foot as follows:—

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|--------|----|--|
| One Regiment | ... | ... | £1,027 | 17 | 4 for 4 months. |
| " | " | ... | 1,584 | 11 | 0 " 6 " |
| " | " | ... | 863 | 16 | 8 " 2 " |
| " | " | ... | 763 | 18 | 8 " 2 " |
| And ... | ... | ... | 8,777 | 11 | 4 for the pay of
the garrison for 2 months. |

¹ Audit Office Declared Accounts, Army, Commander-in-Chief, Governors, &c., No. 161, Roll 435, October 10th, 1661, to November 4th, 1662. Public Record Office.

had not given up all thoughts of regaining Portugal, as the same writer mentions that they were before Lisbon about this time with seven ships of their own and six Dutch ships. According to a letter, written on the 13th of June by Mr. Wilson to Lord Peterborough, Gayland had been successful against Tetuan, in a manner.* Abdul Crun Nacsis, the Governor of that place, had stubbornly resisted the attack; but fearing he should not receive succour from Ben Bowcar in time, and that if he made peace unsubdued he might save the destruction of the town and its treasures, he sought for peace, and Gayland granted it on condition that they should furnish him with soldiers, and allow him to have a Governor to govern jointly with Nacsis. As soon as he had made his arrangements with Tetuan he began again to open negotiations for peace with the Garrison of Tangiers. Mr. Wilson, in his letter, writes in reference to this, that Gayland, having heard that Abdalla Ben Bowcar had left Fez in consequence of the death of his uncle, he therefore meditated an attack on Sallee during his absence from the kingdom, but it was necessary first that he should secure us with a peace and then take Sallee. His overtures were received with great caution in consequence of his duplicity in the month of March. The emissaries of the Moor that were sent to the Deputy Governor were told that, in consequence of his behaviour in not observing the treaty begun in March, 1662, he must come himself if he desired to make peace. He is said to have sent to the Duke of Medina to hinder Spanish boats coming over to us, "but the Spaniards soon found this impossible, and the garrison had its boates in plenty." The writer goes on further to say that "they want no refreshments, beefe excepted." The letter from which these extracts are taken concludes thus: "God sending your Excellency backe all our ills takes end, not else but that four Turkes did upon Sunday last take a Spanish ship that came from the Indies and chased another upon the Spanish shore; we saw part of the fight from this citty."

Lord Peterborough did not stay long in England on his first visit in May, but he returned again in October, and no doubt during his second visit he was informed of the King's intention to give the appointment to Lord Rutherford. Sir Hugh Cholmley writes, "But it being known, that his Excellency, contented with the honor of conducting first his Majesty's troops into Africa, was willing enough to leave the command to another."† Pepys in his Diary gives a different account of the reasons for the change; stating that at a meeting

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 1, 1661-2. † An Account of Tangiers, p. 40.

of the Tangiers Commissioners the only matter was to "discourse with my Lord Rutherford, who is this day (15th December, 1662) made Governor of Tangier, for I know not what reasons, and my Lord Peterburgh to be called home; which, tho' it is said it is done with kindness, I am sorry to see a Catholike Governor sent to command there where all the rest of the officers almost are such already. But God knows what the reason is, and all may see how slippery places all courtiers stand in."* The Patent Roll gives the date of the commission of Lord Rutherford as Governor of Tangiers, &c., &c., to be 2nd May, 1663. Cannon, in his *History of the Regiment*, gives the date of his commission as Colonel as the 9th of April.†

There is evidence here of the state of feeling on the Catholic question, and it was no doubt much increased about the time that Tangiers was given up. Lord Rutherford had just completed the rendition or sale of Dunkirk to the French King on the 4th of November, his commission empowering him to deliver up the place to the French was signed and instructions sent to him as to the disbandment and paying off the troops. It was received at Dunkirk by Lord Rutherford on the 11th, and before the end of the month his duties there were nearly over. In December, as we see, he appeared before the Tangiers Council to "discourse" upon the affairs of his new command. In March Lord Peterborough delivered into ordnance stores some old brass guns, three pounders, from Tangiers, and received in lieu of them four culverins and six demi-culverins.‡ These are most likely some of the old Portuguese guns mounted on the walls of Tangiers and found out to be useless. Lord Sandwich had no doubt left out of the Fleet some guns for the garrison, but it does not appear from the ordnance books that any were delivered to the garrison before the exchanges above noted.

It was not till April 9 that Lord Rutherford's—now Earl of Teviot—commission for Tangiers was signed,§ the Earl of Peterborough resigning the same month. In the Tangiers State Papers|| is a report from a Spanish captain, Francisco Pereba, from a small town about four leagues from Sallee, that he had spoken with Ben Bowcar, who was besieging Sallee with a confused army of 100,000 men, and made sure of taking it.¶

* Pepys' Diary, p. 130, 15th December, 1662.

† Cannon's *History of Second Regiment of Foot or Queen's Royals*, p. 5.

‡ Ordnance Minutes, Public Record Office, Vol. II.

§ Tangiers State Papers, No. 2, p. 12.

|| Ibid.

¶ Another Moorish exaggeration, most likely only 10,000.

The inhabitants had sent to Gayland to help them, but he told them to shift for themselves; a note in the margin of the report says that Gayland was not likely to come, because, although he was strong in horse, Ben Bowcar was stronger in foot, and the country at Sallee was favourable for the latter. On the 6th of March Captain Harbord writes to Mr. Secretary Bennett, that Moors "bring in stolen oxen, cowes, horses, and other cattle, so that they have now no want of fresh beef it being now at 4d. Portuguese a pound, all things mend every day."

Ben Bowcar had arrived in the neighbourhood of Sallee to chastise Gayland, but was obliged to take refuge in the Castle of Sallee, with the loss of thirty of his men, and was in danger of being taken by Gayland. The writer regrets that they had not a frigate so that they might have helped Ben Bowcar from the sea by hindering provisions from coming into the town. The letter reports that "ladders and other inventions proper for scaling" are being prepared at Arzilla, and that they are preparing against them, and that he is advised by the Lord Sandwich that the Lord Rutherford is coming to be Governor here, and that his Excellency (Lord Peterborough) will go with honour for England.*

On the 30th March articles of agreement for the building of a Mole at Tangiers were signed. The necessity for this work had been fully discussed several times in Council, and the Lords having resolved that "such a work could never be carried out but by way of contract, they gave encouragement to the said Earl of Teviot, Sir John Lawson, and Mr. Cholmley, to enter into articles for building the same by the cubical yard. Thirteen shillings for every such yard was the price asked and as readily consented to."† It is stated that the contract for the Mole was signed in February, 1662,‡ but this must be an error, as, according to Pepys,§ in noticing on

* In the Ordnance Minutes at the Public Record Office are some curious entries of stores, &c., for Tangiers. On 2nd March, 4 culverins and 6 demi-culverins were sent out in lieu of brass ones sent from Tangier, which brass guns, weighing 10 cwt. 3 qrs., are credited to Tangiers valued at £6 per cwt. On 17th same month 1,000 pikes, 13 feet in length, were sent to Tangiers. In April were sent out 2,000 hand palisadoes, at 1s. 2d. each; 500 spades, at 2s. 3d. each; 500 shovels, at 1s. 11d. each; 500 pickaxes, at 4s. each for 200, and 3s. 3d. each for 300.—Ordnance Minutes, Vol. II.

† Tangiers State Papers, No. 2.

‡ A Short Account of the progress of the Mole at Tangiers from the first beginning of that work, 1662, page 2, British Museum.

§ Pepys' Diary, page 131.

20th December in that year the proceedings of a Tangiers Council meeting, he says, "but little will be done before my Lord Rutherford comes there as to the fortification and Mole."* The Duke of York was by Patent, dated 20th November, 1662, given a commission "for erecting the Mole and other fortifications at Tangiers," so it would appear as if the contract was not at all events ready for execution, and the Duke was no doubt relying, as Pepys remarks, on the Earl of Teviot initiating the work. The agreement above referred to, after reciting the names of the lords and gentlemen at the Council, which includes, amongst others, Prince Rupert, Earls of Peterborough and Sandwich, Duke of Albemarle, Thomas Poverly, Samuel Pepys, Robert Cuttance, and, on the part of the contractors, Earl of Teviot, Sir John Lawson, Knight, Hugh Cholmley, Esq., concludes thus: "Concerning his Majesty intending to build a Mole or harbour at his city of Tangier in Africa, the former being the Commissioners for Tangier, and the latter three having made certain proposals concerning the construction of a Mole, his Majesty has accepted them and requires the work to proceed accordingly."

The Mole was to begin at the foot of York Castle, extending itself towards the E. N. E. 400 yards thence forwards towards the E. S. E. 200 yards or more as shall be found requisite, "for the enclosing a convenient harbour where ships may ride in five fathoms at low water defended from the violence of the sea."

On the 28th April, Lord Teviot † writes from Deal to Mr. Williamson that he is on his way to Tangiers, is taking some soldiers with him, but has been detained waiting for a fair wind which has now come. ‡ The day after a letter is written to Mr. Williamson by Lord Peterborough, from Tangiers, saying, "that the place is secure and healthfull, that the provisions have arrived, and hopes to hand a good magazine to his successor and to pay the soldiers." §

The new Governor, Lord Teviot, had with great foresight taken care that all his instructions should be carefully made out, and he further sent in to the Council a memorial as to his government of Tangiers, which is here given entire, with its quaint spelling, and with the answers to his questions written in the margin.||

* Pepys' Diary, page 131.

† Formerly Lord Rutherford, he succeeded to the title of Earl of Teviot in February, 1663.

‡ Tangiers State Papers, No. 2, 1663.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

TEVIOT ME.

1. To have one warrant & order for levying twoe hundred foote & one hundred horse for recrents to the Garrison of Tangers.
2. To knowe if the peace shall be continued after the six months expired or not and on what termes it shall be continued whither as before or urtherways.
3. To knowe whither (in cace of warre with the Moors) the Jews shall be continued in Tangers being of little advantage to the Garrison and verry apt to give intelligence to the Enemy.
4. To knowe whither (any Religieux Portugais may come to inhabitat in Tangers, & whither any dying of the Religieux who now are in Tangers) urther coming in ther place shall be admitted, or *only* let them be there *ad vitam* without (sic) succession.
5. To knowe whither according to their pretensions most of the Churches shall belong to them, or if wee shall not make use theirol reserveing the Cathedral to them.
6. To have the determination of the difference betwixt his Majtie & the Portugaises Inhabitants of Tangers about their Houses. And how to dispose thereafter & let out the said Houses whither be fynes Vendition or urtherways, reserved those that are for loadging the Garrison.
7. If frenches or urther strangers offering to come inhabitat & build at Tangers shall be admitted.
8. To knowe how to comport our selfs in cace Benbouker were not able to maintain the Castle of Salée & should offer it to us rather as render it to Gayland, to knowe I say whither we shall accept thereof or not.
9. To knowe whither it will be expedient or not for the Governor of Tangers to have full power of finall determination of sentences without appell, it being one particular article of the peaces concluded twixt the Spaniards of Seuta* & the Mores that they should have full justice administrated without appell.
10. To knowe if any Court in England may at any time have power to command any person for any Cryme (Treason excepted) from the Governor's protection, or impower any uthers for execution of any sentence at Tangers without the Governors consent first.
11. To knowe if those appointed by the Governor for the Execution of Justcie and such sentences as shall passe be the Governor by distress of Goods, committing to prison, etc., shall not have full power given them soe to doe.
12. It is humbly represented that for the advantage of the places, to obledge the Mores to a firme Peace that all English shipps goeing towards Sallée or Tituan be obledged first to unload at Tangers & those of the say'd Places being there Marchandize from hence.

with a latitude to fortify sent away according to his discreⁿ

ad vitam q. ad L^d Peterburgh.

Agreede

v. report of ye committee fines or rents or good rents. y^r discretions not receiving too many v. report of ye Comittee.

noe appeale but to y^e King.

in Tanger or of Tanger.

Agreede

agreedethis proclamation.

* Ceuta.

13. That neither powder nor arms be carryed into the sayd Places be the Inglish any more as hath been easily done agreeed this by *shortlie* during the Warrs wth the Mores & that fregats be ye Admiral ordayned to hynder Holanders or any others to bring them.

FITZGARRARD.

TEVIOTS ME.

1663

(end) E. of Teviots Memoriale concerning Tanger.

The instructions to the Earl of Teviot were delivered to Mr. John Luke, in a sealed-up box, on May 10th, and contained, besides these instructions, his Commission as Colonel of Horse and Foot.* Colonel Fitzgerald's Commission as Colonel of Foot, Mr. Norwood's Commission as Lieut.-Colonel of Foot, Mr. Luke's Commission as Judge-Advocate, twenty Commissions for Captains of Foot, and a packet addressed to the Earl of Teviot containing—

1. The King's letter of revocation to the Earl of Peterborough.
2. His Majesty's private letter to him.
3. Mr. Secretary's letter to the Earl of Teviot.
4. His Hon^r Cypher with ye Earl.
- 5 A copy of this note, with a letter also to the Earl of Teviot and the Earl of Peterborough, and two Commissions for Majors.

At a meeting of the Tangiers Commissioners on the 3rd of April Pepys says, "We find ourselves at a great stand, the Establishment being but £70,000 per annum, and the forces to be kept in the town at the least estimate that my Lord Rutherford can be got to bring, is £53,000. The charge of this year's work in the Mole will be £13,000, besides £1,000 a year to my Lord Peterborough as a pension, and the fortifications and contingencys, which puts us to a great stand."†

Lord Peterborough had learnt, in April, from some Arabian spies in his employ, that the Moors were meditating an attack upon Tangiers. He therefore sent out some natives, who had deserted from the enemy and offered their services to the garrison, and who "had been many wayes usefull and servicable to us," to reconnoitre. They were mounted on horses, and had not proceeded far out of the town when they fell in with a portion of the enemy. In the skirmish which followed, they mortally wounded one of the Chief's sons, to the great grief of the enemy, who then retired. A few days afterwards a considerable party came into the trenches, which had been formed to

* Lord Teviot's Commission as Governor of Tangiers, &c., was dated 2nd May but appears to have been signed on the 9th April. See page 36.

† Pepys' Diary, page 149.

protect the town, but being heavily galled by our Artillery, which killed one of their chief captains, they retired. There were frequent trifling skirmishes between the Moors and the Garrison in the early part of our occupation, "in which the Moors satisfied themselves by beating back with sticks those of the Garrison who passed the stipulated bounds." Soon after Lord Peterborough had commenced the entrenchments and fortifications "war burst out in which the number and ferocity of the Moors were defeated and overcome by great discipline on the part of the garrison. The use of cannon by the Europeans at length diminished the courage of the barbarians, but not before the garrison suffered severely. They had already lost 250 men, and the Moors about 500, amongst whom was a brother of Gayland, when peace was at length concluded, in 1663, and Lord Peterborough returned in the same year to England."*

The Tangiers State Papers† contain no account of these early fights, and no other records have been found to give details of these engagements, though in subsequent pages some allusions are made to former engagements and losses. It is most probable that the "great Captain" was Gayland's brother, but in none of his letters does he in the slightest degree refer to what must have been a galling loss, and one he was likely to complain much of. Although no detailed records of the early fights alluded to here have been found, some confirmation of them and of the heavy losses of the garrison is shown in the numbers of men missing in the musters for the year 1662. The last muster roll in that year was taken on the 23rd October. It gives the number of men in the Governor's Regiment as 793, a reduction of 207 from the muster of the 30th January. Sir Robert Harley's‡ and the Governor's Regiments seem to have done all the fighting, as it is in these Regiments the reduction in numbers is most remarkable. The several musters are shown in the audit books from which this information is obtained: §

| NAME OF
REGIMENT. | MUSTERS OF | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|
| | 80th
January. | 7th
April. | 8th
May. | 26th
June. | 31st
July. | 11th
Sept. | 23rd
October. |
| The Governor's ... | 1,000 | 986 | 960 | 859 | 815 | 778 | 793 |
| Sir Robert Harley's ... | 947 | 913 | 667 | 623 | 617 | 602 | 559 |
| Colonel Farrell's ... | 381 | 373 | 380 | 392 | 372 | 379 | 371 |
| Colonel Fitzgerald's ... | 395 | 403 | 404 | 406 | 414 | 408 | 395 |

* Cannon's History of the 2nd Queen's Royal Regiment of Foot, pp. 4, 5.

† This valuable collection, which is so often referred to in this volume, is preserved in the Public Record Office.

‡ In some documents he is called Sir Robert "Harlow"

§ Audit Office Declared Accounts, No. 161, Roll 435. Public Record Office.

Each Regiment was composed of ten companies. The heavy losses in the engagements on the 3rd May, which are referred to in later documents, seem proved by a reference to those musters, as it will be seen that in Sir Robert Harley's Regiment the difference in the musters of April and May shows a loss in that Regiment alone of 246 men, the Governor's Regiment only losing twenty-six. The next month the latter loses 101, and between the first and last musters in the year the total loss of men from battle and sickness and other causes is shown as :—

| | |
|---------------------------------|----------|
| Governor's Regiment | 207 |
| Sir Robert Harley's Regiment... | 388 |
| <hr/> | |
| Or a total of | 595 men. |
| <hr/> | |

Some of the men had been no doubt employed on works, but the musters quite bear out the statement in Cannon's history that there was heavy fighting and heavy losses, but further details are wanting.

The Tangiers State Papers give "A list of the companye late Captain Benjamin Rudyards," in the Earl of Teviot's Regiment. It is dated May 22nd, 1663, and gives, at the end of the paper, non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, 87. A list of the Company late Captain Benjamin Rudyard's (Redgert) in the Earl of Teviot's Regiment :—

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| Captain Chetham | Captain. |
| Stuart Scrope | Lieutenant. |
| George Triggs | Sergeant. |
| Edward Keyes | " |
| James Ives | " |
| Thomas Morgan | Gent. of Arms. |
| Edward Hall | Corporal. |
| John Pease | " |
| William Munger | " |
| John Bradshaw | Lance soldier, <i>i.e.</i> ,
Lance Corporal. |
| John Teasdale | " |
| William Thorn | " |
| George Moore | Drummer. |

It is not stated why this special muster of this company alone had been made out, but it is a curious document, as giving the name of every man in the company. It is the only record of this kind in the Tangiers papers, all the other musters are missing.

Lord Peterborough seems, according to all accounts, to have

endeavoured to leave Tangiers as well provisioned and as safe as his care could make it, "having paid off all arrears and filled up all stores and ammunitions," and had opened up a good understanding with Algiers and with Sallee. "The works were strengthened by the same noble lord; the garrison enlarged, the quarters were disposed, the rate of victualls settled; the guards were ordered, and five miles round clearly gained." The warrant for the release of the Earl of Peterborough and the appointment of the Earl of Teviot as Governor of Tangiers was signed by the King on the 2nd May.*

According to Pepys,† Lord Teviot had rather offended the Tangiers Commissioners by accepting the Governorship of Tangiers, as they were anxious to promote the Deputy-Governor, Colonel Fitzgerald. He also says that Lord Teviot had "laid out seven or eight thousand pounds in commodities for the place." Lord Sandwich, in speaking about the prospects of Tangiers under the Earl of Teviot, fears that from "the few friends he hath left, and the ill posture of his affairs, my Lord Teviot is not a man for the conduct and management that people take him to be. It appears that Colonel Fitzgerald was a favourite with the Duke of York, who wished to promote him; but the King and his Council feared to entrust the command to him, and put in Teviot to prevent the Irish having the whole command under Fitzgerald." Lord Peterborough's government was a short one; he seems to have done much to raise the defence of the town, and secure it; but he was hardly the resolute soldier they wanted, and this was no doubt the principal cause of his recall.

On the arrival of Lord Teviot some time in May, he at once set to work to further secure the place from the attacks of the Moors. He built at first a small stone redoubt, supposed to be Pole's Redoubt, without any opposition, and enclosed a quantity of ground safely with lines of entrenchment, so that the cattle could be fed in safety. On Thursday, the 4th June, another redoubt was commenced "on the top of the hill which overlooketh the Towne to the very Ports thereof, at the same time we made Retrenchments beyond the hill, that we might not be surprised nor our works molested."‡ The redoubt was to hold 100 men and six small cannon. This preparation for resistance made Gayland so jealous that he commenced preparations for attack. Lord Teviot, writing to Mr. Secretary Bennett, says, "These three days past we have been under arms, as we are informed by fugitives from him that he has 4,000 horse and

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 2, 1663. See also Note on p. 40.

† Pepys' Diary, p. 151.

‡ A Description of Tangiers, 1664, pp. 28, 29.

2,000 foot to attack our little new Fort, and at this instant I expect his sallying on us."* Gayland was encamped about a league from the town. Two fugitives, one after another, brought news that he had resolved to attack the works. The dispositions taken by Lord Teviot to meet the attack were as follows: The entrenchments were divided into three parts; Colonel Fitzgerald and his regiment, with about 400 men, were to guard that portion near the sea-coast; Colonel Norwood, half the Governor's Regiment, and about 400 men, the middle part, wherein lay the new great redoubt; Lieutenant-Colonel Knightly, with the other half of the Governor's Regiment, 400 men, at the small redoubt, on the right; and Colonel Bridges, with the horse, about 90 strong, in the "middest of all, to give succour, as need should require." Colonel Alsop, the Town Major, was to guard the outmost lines of all, where the workmen were, and which was divided into three parts, commanded respectively by a lieutenant and thirty men, an ensign and eighteen men, and a sergeant and twelve men; a six-pounder gun was also put at the outward line at the sergeant's part. In order to prove the readiness of the troops, at twelve midnight the gun was fired, and the troops at once stood to their arms in readiness. The gun was then brought in, and the ground well sprinkled with "chaustraps, cultrips or staries, whereof we brought over 36,000, and the avenues with sowgords or hollies, wherein was put powder as in a mine, and loaden above with stones. Granadoes and swedes feathers were put into these farther parts."† On Sunday the 14th June an attack was made on the entrenched lines, and the Diamond Fort or Redoubt. The hour the attack was made was well timed, being between twelve and one, "the officers, horse, workmen, and reserves being within to refresh themselves, the Moors suddenly appeared in three bodies, each consisting of 500 and half that number as reserves, and assaulted us with great celerity."‡ The three Moorish regiments were clothed, according to another account of the engagement, "one in red and white, another in black, and the third in a sort of violet colour."§ Gayland himself led the second regiment of the Moors against the redoubt,

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 3.

† A caltrop (here called cultrip) was a military instrument with four spikes, disposed in such a manner that, three of them being in the ground, the other pointed upwards. These were scattered in the ground where an enemy's cavalry was to pass, to impede their progress by pounding the horses' feet.—*Johnson's Imperial Dictionary of the English Language*.

‡ Tangiers State Papers, No. 3. § A Description of Tangiers, 1663, page 30.

and planted his standard for a short time between it and the town. Our troops were so taken by surprise by the suddenness and impetuosity of the attack that they abandoned the trenches and retreated, leaving also in their haste some powder and hand-grenades, and pursued with "incredible vigor" by the Moors. Major Redgert's account says "that some of the enemy were so bold as to come down as near as Colonel Fitzgerald's wall (who is now here), without Catherine Fort; but few of them got back again." The gallant Major, with some thirty or forty men, held on well to the redoubt, and he was most ably seconded by "Lieutenant-Colonel Chun, Volunteer Captain Giles, a Lieutenant in the Governor's Company, and several other Reformed officers." *

The great body of the Moors, led by Gayland, had attacked this post, feeling it to be, as indeed it was, the key of the position. Great execution was done against the Moors by the hand-grenades and shot, and their advance and attack was—as they confessed afterwards—much injured and embarrassed by the "crowsfeet and chaustraps" † which had been put all about the lines and the fort. After half an hour's hard fighting, during which time the devoted little band in the fort killed forty of the Moors, losing themselves, in the fort, two killed and seven wounded, six killed and twenty-one wounded in the trenches, succour came from the town. "The Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonels—with the officers commanded in case of alarm to maintain the three posts—as also Colonel Bridges (Sir Tobias Bridges) with his horse marched and repulsed most gallantly the enemy, took in all their posts again, and in the end the enemy retired in great haste and disorder. They lost as near as we can conjecture by taking off the dead (for they never leave any bodies behind them if possible) above 100 in all, fourteen being left within our lines which they could not

* "Reformed (dismissed) officers." See State Papers (Domestic) Charles II., Vol. XLIX., p. 249. "Reformado, a gentleman who serves as a volunteer in a man-of-war, to learn experience."—*World of Words*. "Reformado," a military officer, who for some disgrace is deprived of his command, but retains his rank, and perhaps his pay.—*Johnson's Imperial Dictionary of the English Language*. "Reformado." To reform is to reduce a Company, Regiment, or other body of men, either by disbanding the whole, or only breaking a part and retaining the rest; or sometimes by incorporating them into other Regiments. Hence Reformado, or Reformed Officer, one whole Troop or Company is suppressed in a reform, whilst he (the officer) is continued either on whole or half pay doing duty in the Regiment. A Reformed Captain of Foot follows the Company, and assists the standing officer as a second; but he still maintains his degree and precedence.—*Rees' Cyclopædia*.

† Same sort of obstacle as a caltrop.

carry off and several in the fields. Colonel Norwood with all imaginable gallantry going to the outer point before the Redoubt and Captain Needham with him. The said Captain did kill a Moor for his part, and for his pains was shot himself through the arm in the flesh only." * Major Redgert was run through his coat and scarf by a lance and knocked down with a stone. Gayland is reported to have confessed to having lost severely. The Moorish foot were supported by a strong body of horsemen, and, according to Major Redgert's account, "they had also two grand reserves, consisting of 1,000 horse, which did not engage." † The horse that charged them and followed Gayland in his attack up to the redoubt, was commanded by a chief clothed in a crimson velvet suit, and he being killed "they went off immediately, which maketh us suspect he was of eminent quality." Gayland was assisted in this attack by the Governor of Tetuan and all his forces. After the encounter, in the evening, Lord Teviot sent an express to Gayland by two Jews with a note, in which he writes:—"The King, my master, having honoured me with the command of this place, I did not look for less courtesie than your Excellencie used with my predecessor giving me the welcome, but on the contrary your Excellencie stole from me the hour of eating, in which visits are (not) usually received; notwithstanding what is passed if your Excellencie doth incline to a better correspondence, be it in peace or war, you shall not find me less disposed or provided, though it be at the same hour. Valuing myself on the laws of soldiery, I shall bury the dead bodies you left behind you, but if your Excellency desire to bury them yourself after your manner you may send for them. God keep your Excellency the many years that I desire." This letter, which was a dignified reproach to Gayland, was answered by him the next day. The reply was written for him by some Spaniard, or a Moor acquainted with Spanish, as it was written in that language, but signed above in Arabic letters, and was as follows: "I received your Excellencie's of the 14th current in which you seem to complain that I did not bid you welcome; whereas on the contrary it belongs to me to do so: Persons of your quality being accustomed in these parts to give notice of their arrival and not to dispose of anything as your Excellencie has done in my lands. Notwithstanding I gave order to my subjects that, the occasion presenting itself, they should give good quarter to your Excellencies, as they did with the Centinel which they took the other day, whom I charged them to use well. As to the correspondence it is

* A Description of Tangiers, 1663, p. 3.

† Tangiers State Papers, No. 3.

well-known how punctual I am in it, of which you may be informed. I did not expect less from your Excellencie's courtesie than you have used to the dead, for which I am infinitely obliged to you. God keep your Excellencie many years, so I desire."

The sentinel referred to was a poor fellow named Bury, a trooper who was taken prisoner a few days before, and who had been reported to have been killed. A postscript to the above letter adds, "If your Excellencie please to send any person or persons from you, you may do it, and this shall secure him which goes with my servant." The next day Lord Teviot sent a reply to the above note as follows :—

"I received your Excellencie's of the 15th current the same evening by the hands of your servant who carries this back to you, and to which I answer that if there hath been any omission on my part as to the accustomed civility of these countries, it was a sign of ignorance for which your Excellencie hath sufficiently chastised. I am beholden to you for the good quarter which your Excellency commanded to be given to the soldier your men took the other day ; if my good fortune gives the same occasion, I will pay it with interest. As to what concerns the peace and good correspondence between the King my Master and your Excellencie, there only wants a good disposition on your part as it hath been treated formerly by my predecessor, to which if your Excellencie inclines, signifying it to me, I will send persons to effect it in my behalf. God keep your Excellencie many and happy years."*

Major Redgert, writing on the 16th of June † to the Earl of Peterborough an account of the skirmish, says, referring to Gayland's reply to Lord Teviot's letter, that the Moor replied "that his men were but dust when alive, and now dead were no more, therefore to dust let them return ;" and ends his letter to the Governor by assuring him that they "watch now by companies, persuaded thereto by the advantage I found in it at the first." Early in August, after considerable trouble with Gayland, a peace was concluded to last for six months, to expire on the 22nd of January, and "a free trade was opened with the Moors, they daily bringing their camels laden with commodities, and in return they get money and other things."‡ Sir John Lawson, writing from Cape St. Mary to Consul Maynard, at Lisbon, about the peace concluded with Gayland, says they will now be able to get provisions from Gayland for the Garrison, and that "there is a market to be kept every week at Tangiers, which in a short time will draw all the trade of

* A Description of Tangiers, p. 33, 34. † Tangiers State Papers, No. 3, 1663.

‡ Cannon's History, 2nd Regiment of Foot, p. 6.

Lower Barbary to that Garrison.”* The next month (September) the Governor went home to lay the accounts before the Tangiers Committee and take advice and instruction as to his government. Pepys, in his diary, notes: “In the afternoon, by water to Whitehall, to the Tangier Committee; where my Lord Teviot; which grieves me to see that his accounts being to be examined by us, there are none of the great men at the Board that in compliment will except against anything in them, and so none of the little persons dare do it; so the King is abused.”† Lord Teviot remained home, arranging for the necessary supplies, and the regular settlement of Tangiers affairs, until January, leaving Colonel Fitzgerald in command. In the State Papers is a post warrant dated 22nd October for Lord Rutherford, as he is there called, to be provided with four horses, and a guide to Scotland; no doubt he was engaged in recruiting for the Garrison.‡

Gayland had, after concluding a peace with the Governor, sent a letter to the King of England which is curiously characteristic of the high stilted style of correspondence of these people, and as full of insincere and untruthful statements as a letter could be. It begins:—

“SACRED ROYAL MAJESTY”—Having been advertised by His Excellencie the Earl of Teviot of his sudden occasion to visit these parts, I could not forbear this address in respect of the Peace and good intelligence we have lately effected in your Majestie's name. And having found his Excellency a Cavalier of great valour and honour, and of so noble a mind, I could not choose but desire to correspond with him by my letters, to signifie my inclination of compliance in all things that concern the service of your Majestie, and which formerly I have forborn to do for want of so fitt a juncture to enable me.”

And after a little more in the same style, he concludes his letter:—

“If in any part of our dominions there is anything that offers itself for your Majestie's service, the signification of your commands shall be esteemed the greatest favour that can be expressed. God keep your Majesty, and give you all manner of felicity.”§

The Spaniards were constantly intriguing against our rule in Tangiers, and the effect of this intrigue was felt not only in the new province or town, but at home. On the 29th of October the English Consul at Cadiz writes to the King that he has received certain information that a plot has been arranged between the Spaniards and Gayland to take Tangiers in December next.

In October the following list of “the names of the Field Officers

* State Papers (Domestic), Charles II., Vol. LXXVIII., p. 233.

† Pepys' Diary, 30th September, 1663, p. 177.

‡ State Papers, Domestic Series, Vol. LXXXII., p. 310.

§ Tangiers State Papers, No. 3, 1663.

and Captains of the English Regiment at Tangiers, composed of fifteen companies," was received.

"The names of the Field Officers and Cap^{ins} of the English Regiment at Tangiers composed of fyfteen Companies.

| | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Col. and Cap ^{ne} ... — Teviot. | 9. Cap. ... — Mordent. |
| 2. Lieut.-Co. & Cap. — Norwood. | 10. Cap. ... — Brooks. |
| 3. Major & Cap. ... — Knichtly. | 11. Cap. ... — Ker. |
| 4. Cap. ... — Lauton. | 12. Cap. ... — Finnes or
Clynton. |
| 5. Cap. ... — Fairburne. | 13. Cap. ... — |
| 6. Cap. ... — Ridgert. | 14. Cap. ... — Chittame. |
| 7. Cap. ... — St. Hill. | 15. Cap. ... — Daniel." |
| 8. Cap. ... — Nedhame. | |

And another paper containing

"The names of the Field Officers and Cap. of the Irish Regiment at Tangiers composed of fyve Companies.

| | |
|--|---|
| 1. Col. and Cap ⁱⁿ ... — fitz Gerard. | 4. Cap. ... — Bolgier. |
| 2. Lie. Co. Cap. ... — fitz Gerard. | 5. Cap. ... — Eskin. |
| 3. Cap. ... — Molye. | Major without a Compaine, fitz Gerard." |

On the back of the papers is endorsed, "Names of the Field Officers and Captaines of the Garrison of Tangiers, and my Lord Teviot's papers concerning 200 Horse for Tangier received Octob. 8-63, wth y^e names of y^e Field Officers and Cap^{ts} of y^e Irish Regimt. and of y^e English consisting of 15 Compaines."* This would seem to be a re-organisation of the four original Regiments into two, an English and an Irish Regiment. These two Regiments were subsequently consolidated into one; so that the four Regiments that went originally to Tangiers, viz. the Governor's Regiment, Sir Robert Harlow's [or Harley's] Regiment, Colonels Farrall's and Fitzgerald's Regiments, thus became the old Tangiers Regiment, afterwards the 2nd Queen's.

Colonel Fitzgerald, writing on the 25th November to Lord Teviot (directing it to Secretary Sir Harry Bennett in case his Lordship had set sail), states that Gayland had received a present from the King of Spain, and "that it was brought through his land in great pomp and state; one that I employed was an eyewitnesse of this, and the rumor was the present was wourth more than forety thousand pieces of eight;" and relates further that an English friar had arrived at Tangiers, and although suspecting him of treachery in consequence of some intelligence he had of him, the friar had given further information about the Spaniards' designs, and reported that they had a fleet in readiness. Major Knichtly, who "made it his business to sift this

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 2, 1663.

frayer," on remarking to him that it was disgraceful for Christians to join Moors to fight against Christians, the friar replied "they would join with the devil to have Tangiers." The same letter says that "the Spanish commissioners still are and have continued a good time in treaty with Gayland and the principal of the Moors at Arzilla. A Jew in Tetuan, in the pay of Colonel Fitzgerald, asserts that the Spaniards, as one of the effects of the treaty, are to assist Gayland in making forts to curbe our liberty;" Colonel Fitzgerald urges Lord Teviot to be very cautious "in his coming here not to trust that any ship of more force accost his, or that his person be at any time in the power of the Spaniards or the Turks." This letter is docketted on the back as having been answered on the 16th January by Sir John Lawson.

In Dr. Addison's account of West Barbary, there is a description of the visit of the Spanish Envoy to Gayland at a place equally distant from Ceuta (the Spanish Garrison and Town in Morocco) and Tetuan, which had lately entered into a treaty with Gayland through its Governor, Cidi Abdelcrim Naesis.* Gayland had fixed the 10th of September as the date he would receive the Envoy Don Diego Felipe de Palma. The Moor, in order to impress the Spanish Envoy, had ordered a parade of his best horse from his own Cavila, under his brother Cidi Tobib Ebu Ali, who marched with them from Arzilla to Tetuan, where they joined the horse of Gayland's brothers-in-law, sons of the Almocaden of Angera. These with many more marched to receive the Envoy at the place agreed on. The procession is thus described by Addison:—"In the first troop came the two sons of the Almocaden of Angera, with about sixty of their kindred, all bravely mounted and, according to their gallantry, richly accoutred. These in several rings exercised the lance with laudable agility, the music of Tituan still playing before them. In the next rank came Cidi Tobit, attended with about fifty horse, maintaining a very slow march as if they intended to revie or deride the Spanish gravity. Next to them rode the Envoy Don Diego Felipe de Palma del Habito de Sanjago, with a single trumpet sounding before him. Next came led six stately horses trapt in blue cloth. After them fourteen mules loaden with trunks; and in the last place rode the Governor of Tituan, with the Alarbes' music tinkling before him, and attended with a large and well-ordered train." In this order they conducted the Envoy to Tetuan, where he was entertained for two days by the Moors and then began his march to Arzilla.† Gayland had, in order that the people

*.West Barbary, by Lancelot Addison, Chaplain to His Majesty in Ordinary, pp. 106 to 110.

† Idem.

on the road from Tetuan to Arzilla might be impressed with the honour done to him by one of the greatest of the Christian monarchs, caused the roads to be crowded with his political friends. Upon the Envoy's arrival at Arzilla he was lodged in an apartment in Gayland's Palace.

Many conjectures were made as to the reason of this Envoy's visit to Gayland, but there can be no doubt that Spain was intriguing to aid him in resisting our occupation of Tangiers. The Duke of Medina kept the Garrison in a constant state of ferment with his intrigues, particulars of which constantly occur in the Tangiers State Papers. Addison says:—"The forementioned Duke had an evil eye upon the immortal Teviot for the renowned victories which, under the most Christian King, he achieved against his nation's enterest in the Low Countries, which aged choler he found highly inflamed by the victories gained by that indefatigable captain over his Moresco neighbours, which instigated the Duke's spleen not so much against Tangier, as its 'Restorer' Teviot, who being this time in England took the advantage of his absence to disgrace him (if any such thing had been possible) with his new confederate Gayland." *

The day after Colonel Fitzgerald had sent off the letter to Lord Teviot, Gayland, with an escort of about fifty of his principal chiefs, came into the English lines and expressed a desire to see the Colonel, who immediately called upon him and "roade a hawking with him for the space of an hour." Nothing seems to have passed between them, but both were evidently busy with observation; for Colonel Fitzgerald, in a letter dated 9-19th of December, to Secretary Bennett, relating the visit, writes:—"I doe since conjecture that the occasion of his coming into these parts is to sebtle all his people as neere Tanger as may be that soe theire interest lying about this place, they may be obliged for their owne security to be at his devotion, in case the Spaniards can propose those advantageous terms which may prevaile with him to brake peace with us. I am the rather confirmed in this opinion, because soe greate numbers of people are come downe on a sodaine, and followe theire plowing soe earnestly in some parts neere us, where no plowes have beene seene these many yeeres. Moreover the Spanish Ambassador, whome the enclosed mentions, resides still in Arzilla, with a resolution there to continue untill the last day of our peace except Gaylan shall before that time comply with his desires. An expresse to him from Madrid went through Tetuan on the third of this Moneth, new style: what his errand was I cannot yet learne, but a

* West Barbary, by Lancelot Addison, pp. 110, 111.

Jew with whome I correspond in Tetuan, promises me an account by the first with copies of severall letters, from that place, and Arzilla, now in my hands, shall be remitted by the first occasion."

In a postscript he says that he hears that Lord Teviot has embarked for Tangiers.

On the 31st of December Colonel Fitzgerald writes again to Secretary Bennett stating that the term of the peace with Gayland being almost at an end, "and no certainty of my Lord of Teviot's coming," he sent to Arzilla to try and get the treaty prolonged on the same terms as before for two months longer; but not getting any positive answer by his first messengers in three days he sent again, and hoped that, notwithstanding the Spaniards' intriguing and opposition, to get it.* He also says that the Algerine men-of-war plunder "all our ships that pass in or out of the straights," and about a fortnight previously they had taken a "ketch of my Lord Teviot's, bound for Marseilles with cargo and to bring back wine, and carried her to Algiers."

Very minute instructions, dated the 21st of December, were given by the King to Lord Teviot, when he set sail for Tangiers about the end of the year. The first paragraph of it refers to the Spanish conspiracy with Gayland to surprise and take the town, and promises all assistance necessary. The second paragraph referred to the truce with Gayland, and bids Lord Teviot not to admit any restraint in fortifying the place, and to encourage trade as much as possible, but instructs him to be careful of French, Dutch or other nations. The third paragraph states that more encouragement is to be given to the Portuguese, but bids him also to beware of their corresponding with the Moors. Instructions are given as to the disposition of the houses in the town; and directions are also given as to conduct in case Ben Bowcar offered to surrender Sallee to our troops; in no case was it to be allowed to fall into the hands of Gayland. The administration of justice and a correction of errors in the Deputy-Governor Fitzgerald's commission are also laid down. The postscript gives instructions as to an augmentation of the cavalry by two troops of horse; but, as the establishment is not to be increased, the Governor's regiment of foot was to be reduced by three companies, which were to form the said two troops; Captain Blake's, Captain Chettwin's, and Captain Carre's being the companies to be changed, and Captain Carre's was to be posted to Captain Ereskin's company in Colonel Fitzgerald's Regiment. Instructions were also given as to the promotion of deserving officers, and he was to let all know at once on his arrival at Tangiers how well

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 2, 1663.

satisfied the King was with their behaviour in the late actions, and promise to notice and reward them, and further he was to particularise the merits of every officer and soldier in order that he may remember to reward them when there is occasion for it.

The letter is here given entire as copied from the Tangiers State Papers.*

INSTRUCTIONS FOR Y^e EARLE OF TEVIOT, HIS MAJ^{ties} GOVERNOUR OF TANGER
RETURNING THITHER, DECEMBER Y^e 21st, 1663.

CHARLES R.

1. Having ordered the delivery to you of all the papers brought by Captaine Boeckman, relateing to the Spaniards' designe for the surprize of Tanger, in a conspiracy wth Gaylan, and being entirely satisfied that there can be no defect on yo^r part for the defence of the Place ag^t that or any other invasion, that can be made upon it. It will not be needfull, to enlarge anything upon that subject, more then to assure you, that none of those helps promised you shall be wanting. What doth not now goe along wth you shall follow wth the Fleet that goes after, wth sufficient orders to be assistant to you in all things relateing to the defence of the place, and opposing the execucon of the afores^d designe.

2. When y^e terme of the Truce between you and Gaylan shall come to expire, it is left to you to conclude an entire Peace wth him, or to continue the Truce for such a time as you shall judge fitt and with such condicons; remembring onely that you doe not admitt of any restraint upon fortifieing the Place and the ground about it, wth such an extent as shall be absolutely necessary for the security and convenience of it. The other condicons that in yo^r Judgement shall be usefull for encouraging Trade and the resort of Merchants thither wth their Stocks, not suffering any unreasonable number of French, Dutch, or other nacons to be there, as may by their correspondence endanger the security of the Place, especially Jewes, whose Trafficque wth y^e Moores is most to be suspected.

3. As for y^e Portugueses there being no cause given by them to make you jealous of their fidelity to the Government, you are to give them a more avowed encouragement, preserving those that are there of any Religious order, in all the Priviledges and Imunities promised them, but not suffering new ones to be admitted into the Place of those that dye; not making any scruple of ejecting those who are yet living, if you finde them tampering or guilty of any dangerous correspondence; nor allowing them or the Roman Catholicks the . . . any of the Churches, more then what shall be requisite to the proporcon their number.

4. As for the Houses, having first provided for the convenient Lodging of the Garrison, you shall dispose of the rest to Marchants, according to yo^r likeing, either by reserving good rents upon them, or otherwise taking Fines and applying them to the repaire of the said Houses, y^e surplusage of w^{ch} you are to accom^p for; excepting onely such Houses as were effectually bought by y^e Ea: of Sandwich, and some few other officers of y^e Fleet, of w^{ch} shall be given you a perfect List; attested by him, and y^e House of one Simon Lopez de Mendouzz w^{ch} wee have granted wth the appurtenances to y^e Earle of Peterburgh. And

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 2, 1663.

of the rest deserted by the Portugueses, you shall cause a faire valuacon to be made according to the condicon in wch they are now, and promise them satisfaction thereupon.

5. In case Benbucar shall offer to surrender to you y^e Castle of Salley and that yor condicon there permits y^e acceptance of it, you shall take possession upon reasonable terms and condicons, and garrison it wth such a number of souldiers as shall be requisite for its defence, and in the worst case, at least, doe yor utmost endeavour that it doe not fall into the hands of Gaylan.

6. In the Administracon of Justice in all Criminall and Civill matters you shall declare Our Intencon is, that our Judicatories proceed to small determinacons of all causes wthout a Latitude of Appeale but to Our Selfe by y^r permission; and no person be commanded from thence by any Forme of Justice, or in any case except that of treason, allowing all sentences to be good and valid and accordingly to be executed whether by distress of goods, Corporall punishment, or death.

7. Haveing reviewed Coll^l FitzGerald's Comission wch he carryed wth him to be Deputy-Governo^r and finding it improper in some clauses, We have caused a second to be dispatched, according to a forme established for Lieut^{nt} Govern^{rs} in all our Forts and Castles, &c., belonging to any of our Dominions, which new Comission, together wth our letter to the said Coll^l FitzGerald you shall deliver to him, and so comport yor selfe towards him, as may satisfie him of y^e entire confidence Wee have in his zeale and affection to our service.

C. R.

Finding it necessary to make an Augmentation of two Troopes of horse for y^e benefitt of the Garrison of Tanger, and not being now convenient att present to adde any thing to the Establishment already made, Wee have thought fitt to make up y^e said troopes by a Reduccion of three Comp^{ys} in yor owne Regiment of Foote, viz., Cap^t Blakes, Cap^t Chettwins, and Cap^t Carres Company, Carre to Comand Ereskin's Comp^y in FitzGerald's Regiment. And that for y^e future all officers and souldiers serveing may be the better encouraged in the performance of their duty, you shall declare our Pleasure to have been signified to you, That offic^{rs} happening to die, Those under them deserveing it, shall gradually succeed; we ourselves promising hereby not to recomend any strangers to their prejudice, also you shall observe this rule, if not giving leave to any to be absent from their comand longer than three monthes, suspending their pay for what time they shall stay beyond this terme Limited, and proceeding to cost . . . if they shall unreasonably exceed therein. Immediately on your arrivall there, you shall let all the officers and souldiers of y^e Garrison know how well satisfied Wee are wth their behaviour in y^e late actions, when they were assaulted by the Moors, and encouraging them to continue doing their duty upon the assurance that nothing shall be wanting on our part to gratifie and reward them for soe doing and upon all occasions you shall continue as you have hitherto done, to particularize in y^r l^{res} the merits of every officer and souldier That wee may remember to reward them accordingly when there is occasion for it.

Lord Teviot was delayed in England longer than was intended, as, though the ships with his recruits and provisions were ready at Spithead on the 19th of December, the Captain of one of the ships writes on that day to Pepys for another month's victuals, as

"it will be four or five days before the Earl of Teviot's ships are ready to sail." *

On the 14th of January Lord Teviot arrived in Tangiers, Colonel Fitzgerald having sent only two days before a copy of the provisional treaty with Gayland, "which I remit by two or three conveyances for fear of miscarriage." †

The six months' truce with Gayland would have expired on the 22nd January, but the Deputy-Governor had got it prolonged for two months, "up to the first day of April next," on the former conditions.

The voyage of the Governor had been one of alternate storms and calms, and he states in a letter to Secretary Bennett that he had lost six horses and one trooper. In the same letter he refers to the two months' prolongation of the peace, and regrets that his Majesty had not sent the presents promised to Gayland, as "it might have contributed to firm peace." Gayland, who had stipulated that the fifty barrels of powder should be paid either in powder or silver according to his Majesty's pleasure, now demanded that it "should now be paid in powder," which was granted.

Lord Teviot on his arrival sent to thank Gayland for the prolongation of the truce, but at the same time informed him that he had his Majesty the King's positive orders to continue the fortifications of the place, and that it was not in his power to continue the truce unless on these conditions. Gayland asked for fifteen days' grace to consult with his chiefs, "which truce he taketh (sayeth he) to convene his nobles and consult the matter; but the verity is that he may be the more ready to attack or surprise us. *Bon chat, bon rat*, we are not jelly. The Jews that come in assure us that we shall have wars with him, but within two months after peace now, as the peace hitherto has not produced to us great advantages, so I assure your honor that the wars shall not hinder the fortifying of the town nor the making and advancing of the Mole." ‡

Lord Teviot gave him the fifteen days' delay, at the end of which time Gayland sent two of his chief officers and his secretary with the impudent message that the council he had assembled had decided that the Mohammedan law would not permit them to give liberty to Christians to erect fortifications in Africa, but that they were willing to give quarter as in the Portuguese time, and rate the prisoners at "such a price." To this Lord Teviot at once replied that he would

* State Papers (Domestic) Charles II., Vol. LXXXVI., p. 379.

† Tangiers State Papers, No. 3.

‡ Lord Teviot to Sir H. Bennett, and Tangiers State Papers, No. 3.

either have peace with the said conditions, or else would have war "without quarter." The next day after this haughty reply Lord Teviot turned the most part of the Jews out of the town, and began the foundation of a new fort near Peterborough Tower.

On the 26th of February Lord Teviot wrote to Secretary Bennett that fighting between the Garrison and Gayland began on the 11th instant, and that Gayland had attacked "by ambuscades and surprises, but not by open force;" he added that if Gayland did not assault them the next day with his whole army, they would be prepared in another day to defend the lines against all Gayland's forces without danger. He further writes, "We have made infinite of retrenchments, and built a little fort on ye most considerable pass about ye town, so that we dare hope good success to ye place." *

The gallant Governor had been most diligent and skilful with the lines and entrenchments, and had also built a small redoubt. The ambuscades and surprises had cost the Garrison only two or three men, and some five or six horses; but the Earl praises most highly his officers for their "extraordinarie diligence," and his soldiers for their "indefatigable pains and labor;" and remarks he "never saw officers and soters more eager and ready to fight." "I know not if it be a motiv of Christianitie against infidels y^t causeth it, but I dare say we have good lynes before us to defend us. I hope my next sall efford better news, whereof I shall give your ho: the detail." †

Mr. Addison, in writing home to Mr. Williamson on the 14th March, speaks very highly of the indefatigable diligence and skill of the Governor, whom the Moors call "Devil." They report that he never sleeps, that his great guns run of themselves, and that he is "a man of success, and cannot be beaten."

On the last day of February, the Moors appeared between the hours of eleven and twelve noon on the hills overlooking the town, the greater part on the west towards the sea; they occupied the crests of the hills, and sent parties down to assault the lines, planting their standard close to the works. The principal attack was delivered against the west lines near the sea, and was continued for several hours, with considerable loss to the Moors, but not a single man of the Garrison was either killed or wounded. At last they drew off, and the night passed without further attack.

The next day the Moors renewed the assault about the same hour, but with greater determination and courage, again planting their standard close to the works, but directing their main attack on the

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 3.

† Ibid.

new fort. Their fire was badly directed, and the Garrison lost but one man. The enemy's main body was on the hill close by the work, from whence they kept sending succour to the Moors assaulting the lines.

After four hours of this defence Lord Teviot thought it high time for him to take the offensive, so to strike terror into them he ordered Captain Witham to charge the Moors who surrounded the red standard and to endeavour to capture it. This work was most gallantly done by the party, who rushed out upon the Moors, and, after a sharp short fight, the Moors retreated. Their standard-bearer and many more were killed. This gallant skirmish did not lose the Garrison a single trooper or a horse. Immediately the troops returned to the lines Lord Teviot hoisted the captured standard in the new fort, to the intense disgust of Gayland, who at once drew off his whole army (estimated at 8,000 men), the loss of their standard being considered very ominous. Lord Teviot, in writing home an account of this gallant sortie, says, "We took soe well our measures that my Troop of Horse sallyed out of our lines and took the said coloures & he and his own army looking on amazed at this suddain gallantry and did see his owne standart planted on the head of our new Redoubt. We killed his standart bearer wth five others, severall others we kil'd that day. The Gen^l of his Algarines horse was killed alsoe. Next day after he lifted his campe, and have had noe encounter since, save of one Ambuscado when one of our horsemen was killed & two hurt, & about (as they report themselves) twentie of theirs killed & hurt." The Earl sent home the colours that he had captured to England by Captain Pryer, and remarks in his note that, "Gayland is said to be sicke of displeasure for the losse of the Gen^l of the Algarines horse & his standart & that the army is gathering to give us a second assault."

Further strength was given to the works by the erection of a "great new fort situate upon the west part, towards the sea, 800 feet from without the trench of the upper castle, upon a base that consists of two half bastions and a curtain cannon-proof on all sides, with a vast trench about it made to lodge a company of foot, and in this part of the world very well deserves the name of a castle; in a few weeks it will be completed and the greatest strength of the town." * The same writer, in his report of the works, says that "His Excellency has his tent close to this new fort, where he eats and lodges constantly, having not laid in a bed this month."

After the capture of the standard, Gayland withdrew for a short distance with his main army, and desisted from a direct attack,

* Mr. Addison to Mr. Williamson, Tangiers State Papers, No. 3.

but harassed the Garrison by ambuscades. The two most determined of these were on the 13th and 27th of March. "The former was very strong, consisting of choyce men and the chief leaders, which on the suddain encountered our Horse, and great courage was expressed on both sides. We lost one man and two wounded; but very many of the Moors were killed and wounded, and the rest compelled to retreat. The second, being Sunday morning (March 27th), was a strong ambush, both of horse and foot, planted near us. But after a short and hot dispute the Moores ran; our Horse fell in among them and slew several, and had done a farr greater execution, but for the rocks and disadvantages of the ground. Here we had only one man shot through the hand, while many of the enemy were killed." Two of the enemy's dead men were brought into camp by the command of Lord Teviot, one of them being evidently a person of quality by his dress and ornaments. The Governor had been shocked at the barbarous manner in which the Moors insulted our dead, and thought this a good occasion to show them how a Christian soldier and gentleman treated their dead foes. The scene is quaintly described by a writer thus:—"That which makes this action more Remarkable was the signal Humanity which His Excellency expressed towards the Dead Bodies, for after Divine service celebrated (it being Sunday), and the Sermon ended in the Camp, His Excellency Commanded them to be washed, while himself stood by, and Two Bieres to be made, and the Dead to be shrouded in White Linnen and laid thereon, and strewed with Flowers, with all prudential decency: appointing afterwards a white Flag to be carried before the Bodies, after which marcht his Excellence on Horseback, all the Troops attending in Squadrons with Excellent order and Modesty, and thus they passed to the utmost of the Bounds assigned to us in time of Peace; where the Moores met the Bodies with a White Flag and received them with Great Expressions of Satisfaction, taking off their Caps and Sashes from their heads (a Ceremony not used in their adorations) in token of their Respect and Gratitude to his Excellencie. Much amazed at this unexpected civility; (which upbraided their former Barbarous behaviour towards those of ours which have at any time fallen into their hands)." * The same writer, after relating how invincible the Moors considered the noble Governor, says, "One thing more there is that keeps them at a distance, which is their opinion that the approaches to this place are all mined and that they cannot anywhere make an attack without danger of being Blown up."

* A Brief Relation of the Present State of Tangier, p. 6, 1664.

These ambuscades were fated to be very disastrous later on to the Garrison, and it is singular that the Governor should not have been able to guard against these tactics of the Moors. It is no doubt an exaggeration ; but in a small book entitled "A Description of Tangier," an extraordinary account is given of the way Gayland had trained his troops for these ambuscades and surprises:—"He trains up the Moors to so much Discipline that they shall march 20,000 together with that order and silence for forty miles that they cannot be discovered, yea there is not a word spoken in the camp for two dayes together sometimes except in his own Tent : and what is more remarkable 2 or 3,000 of them shall lodge themselves in the Fernes (ferns) and amongst the rising grounds, so that you may ride through these very grounds, and not discover a man. Nay, bear up your belief a little longer, while I tell you that 10,000 of them shall hide themselves in the sand so that you may go over them and not discover them." The same authority bears testimony to the discipline and valour of his "choice men," who he arms very well, "that they may survive his encounters to a considerable skill, experience and confidence, which if his men were cut off in every occasion freshwater soldiers are not capable of : and besides being so armed he ordereth them not to charge until they come within execution of the enemy, which they will do manfully, bearing up against his charges to his very face." *

The Tangiers Papers contain constant reference to the intrigues of the Court of Spain with Gayland. A letter from Sir Richard Fanshaw to Secretary Bennett states that some men who went from Tangiers to procure lime had been made prisoners, and that they were sentenced to be hung, as "the Duke de Medina looks upon Tangiers as if still in Portuguese hands, because his Majesties consent to the Alimentation thereof was never had, and that he will treat the English of the place as rebels as well as enemies." A later letter from the Earl of Teviot says that "the Duke de Medina had received an expresse from Gayland to procure cannon and fireworks against this town."†

In a letter to Sir Henry Bennett, dated the 5th of April, the Earl asks for permission to come home, and gives an exact account of all the occurrences at Tangiers since his return. He also refers to his having made a journey home to England the latter end of the previous year, and a short journey into Scotland, where he "raised 100 Horse and Troopers and 400 Foot," provided them with shipping and victuals,

* A Description of Tangiers, p. 25.

† Tangiers State Papers, No. 3.

advancing all the monies himself, although uncertain when he should be reimbursed; that he landed them on the 19th of January, and had had no leisure to "put order into his own affairs." He prays therefore for leave, "as his Excell^y the Earl of Peterborough had;" but so that his leave may not "prejudice his Majest^ys Service," he wishes to have it ready only "when he shall have made peace with Gayland or put the Garrison in such a posture as not to suffer by his absence." Alas! a month all but a day from the date of this note he was dead, and his gallant and indefatigable spirit at rest.

Gayland seems to have been quiet for nearly a month after his ambuscade of the 27th March. On 25th April Lord Teviot writes to Mr. Wescombe, Consul at Cadiz, that on the 21st the Moors "addressed a strong Embuscado for us, but we surprised them in finding us so ready to receive them, so that in lieu of any advantage in the least hayre of our head, they were forced to retire, and in open field suffer the Fier of many Musqueteers; who or how many we hurt, we know not, but we found all the Field where they passed besprinkled wth much blood. They were the choyce Gallants of the Chutti of Hugera who designed this. Since that time we have not heard of them, and soe at present we are quiet, and Injoye our Cattell, who feeded dayly on 800 acres of good ground." The letter complains of the scarcity of lime, but says, "A gallant man never wanted arms, and tho the Duke uses too much animosity in prohibiting its coming to us he will have it from Portugal or make it himself, failing that he will fortify without it." A gallant tone of "never say die" breathes through the whole of the letter. In a letter of Mr. Wescombe, dated 4th May, he reports that the Duke of Medina continues very rigorous measures against those who are known to convey lime to Tangiers, and hanged one at Gibraltar for being found with lime in his boat going to Tangiers. He also says that the Duke is much more severe since the arrival at Cadiz of a Moor from Gayland, "w^{ch} makes him believe that there is Private Intelligence about Tanger between the Spaniards and Gayland and his Moores." He asks, quite naturally, "if we have Peace with Spayne why may we not have a free Commerce wth them and them wth us?" "My Lord, pray consider that Tanger wants Lyme very much, soe this poynt cleared would Import Tanger very highly." This letter appears to have been sent to some one in authority in Spain, most probably our Ambassador.

Sir Richard Fanshaw, writing to Secretary Bennett, in March, from Seville, gives an account of his interview with the Duke of Medina, in which the latter insists upon the right of Spain to regard the English as enemies and rebels, because of the possession of

Tangiers by the English. The Duke still looked upon Tangiers as a Portuguese possession, and would resist by all the means in his power any attempt of the English to strengthen or fortify it, and hang all those who attempted to carry lime to Tangiers. The Spaniards seem to have been further irritated by "some gauling damages lately done to the Spaniard in the West Indies;" but the writer writes confidently, "I doe apprehend we are much more able (being provoked thereto) to doe them mischiefs, both in the Indies and from Affrick, than they us."

CHAPTER IV.

PROGRESS UNDER SIR TOBIAS BRIDGES AND LORD
BELLASYSE.

FROM 1664 TO 1666.

CONTENTS.—Disaster of the 4th of May—Sir Tobias Bridges' Despatch to the King—List of Officers killed—Discontent amongst the Garrison—Arrival of English Frigates—The Mutiny Quelled—Spanish demand for Surrender of Tangiers—Roll of the Troops in Garrison—Reduction in number of Regiments—List of Officers—Progress of the forts—Spanish intrigues—Arrival of more Troops—Commissioners sent to treat with Gayland—Distribution of Medals—Disputes between Officers—Order in Council—Pay of Garrison nine months in arrears—Slow Progress of the Mole—Lord Bellasyse appointed Governor—Militia recruits for Tangiers—Energy of the New Governor—Capture of Convoy for Tangiers by the Dutch—Attacks by the French—Colonel Norwood appointed Lieutenant-Governor.

IN spite of the ability of the Governor and the success that had hitherto attended his indefatigable endeavours to secure the safety of the Garrison, the tactics of the Moors obtained for them a great success in the disastrous ambushade of the 4th of May.

The first news of the disaster seems to have reached Sir Richard Fanshaw, at Ballecas, near Madrid, in a letter from Sir Tobias Bridges, whom the officers in Tangiers on the death of Lord Teviot had appointed to command the Garrison; the Deputy-Governor, Colonel Fitzgerald, being on leave in England. This officer, on the 5th May, sent full circumstantial accounts of the disaster to the King, the Duke, Lord General, to the Deputy-Governor Colonel Fitzgerald, and to Mr. Secretary Bennett.* The despatches were sent off by the ship *Royal Katherine*, of London. The letter to the King is so interesting,

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 3.

and gives such a circumstantial account of the tragedy, that it is given entire. On the back of the letter is written :—

“ May 5th, 64.

“ Sr Tob. Bridges to his Maty.

“ FOR THE KINGE.”

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ After our noble Governor my Lord of Teviott, by his prudent conduct and industry, had done so great and worthy actions against the Moores, his successes wherein being to all mens admiration, having not onely resisted and beaten off their whole army when they ataqued our lynes, sallying out upon them and tooke the standard of Guyland, but gained ground every day upon them by making new lynes, and being upon the erecting of two forts at a considerable distance from the towne for their preservation, the which, though not nere perfected, yet a little time would have brought them to a condition of defence ; and for the security of his workemen himself in person did every morening with all his horse and a considerable numbers of foot make ample discoveries of all the grounds about, to a considerable distance ; and after placed guards and scoutes to the greatest advantage imaginable, by which practise, we were not of some considerable time molested by the Moores ambushes, which before they frequently laid ; onely shewing themselves some times each day in small parties at a good distance, neither did they for 5 or 6 daies so much as shew themselves to us in any party ; this gave incouragement to my L^d to march over the Jewes river up into a thick bushy wood, oposite to the hill on the westward the sea, and went there with a party of foot more than three miles wthout any resistance made, where they onely found one howse built wth stone and lime, the which was by them quitt upon my Lords approach, leaveing therein some kettles, hookes, bills, and other necessaries, which our soldiers upon their retourne brought away. Upon the third of this instant, my Lord haveing made early in the morneing a further discovery with his horse than ever he had done at any time before to the south-east, and after placing his centinells and guards, judging the country for a great distance at least to be cleare of any enemy, ordained all the horse to forrage there, directing some foot to lye near them for the makeing good y^e retreat if any thing unexpectedly should happen ; and hee himselfe tooke a resolution to goe into the wood with some foot to cutt wood, and immediately went over the valley to the west hill towards Fort Charles and tooke wth him seaven battalions of foot, all firelocks, the best and choycest of our men, and the principall and chiefe officers of our garrison to command them ; hee himselfe being accompanied wth severall gentlemen volunteirs and reformed officers marched over the Jewes river into the wood and went up three severall waies, they being all appoynted to meete at some particular place some distance above the hill. But so it was notwthstanding his farr discovery before made by the horse, which I feare produced more than ordinary confidence ; before they came up to the middle partey of the hill in the wood, severall ambushes of foot discovered themselves wth which our men skirmished, and drove to a retreat, but presently on all handes they rose up and appeared in such great numbers that they imediatly had surrounded our men, at the same time the horse started upp round about in the valley and on the hills to the south-east not lesse then two thousand, and came pouring downe not onely upon our horse, but tooke

the advantage in a moment to fall betweene the wood where our foot were and the hill, that although it was evident our men fought as resolutely, and gave as good fyre as men could doe, they being thus surrounded with their army of horse and foote, our worthy Gener^l the officers and gentlemen with him, and all the whole party of the soldiers, were cut off, not thirty of them, as I can finde, that ever came off. There is lost in this action his Excel^{cy} the Earl of Teviott, our Gener^l. wth nineteene commission officers, and fiveteene gentlemen and volunteirs, the doctar, together with 396 non-commission officers and privat soldiers, the particular of which and other things is sent to Mr. Secretary. This sad misfortune and great breach hath filled us all with sorrow and distraction, yet are all willing to contribute our utmost for the safety of this place, and if possible to preserve those forts which allready hath cost so much care and charges. The officers remaineing have wth joynt consent beene pleased to comand mee at present to manage the garrison concernes, w^{ch} I shall wth all faith and loyalty endeavour to discharge, according to my capacity, untill your Mas^{ys} pleasure bee knowne. I have taken a view of both Regiments of Foot, and finde present but 4 Captaines, the one of namely Cap^t Mordaunt is very sick and unserviceable at present, very few Lt^s and Ensignes, and these not of the best, some companies not any commission officer left, which hath necessitated mee, in order to the discharge of our duty, to elect such persons amongst ourselves as were judged the most sufficient to act as officers for the present, untill your Maj^{es} further order.

“Y^r Maj^{es} most humble, most obedient,

“and most faithfull servant,

“TOBIAS BRIDGE.”

“Tanger, May 5th, 1664.”

Sir Tobias added further details of the straits they had been reduced to by the direful misfortune. They were endeavouring to make the two new forts begun by the late Governor defensible, and he praises the care and industry of Sir Barnard de Gomme and Colonel Alsoppe in this work. He fears in case the Moors attack the lines again he cannot hold them for want of men; but the forts being retained and held, then he says, if “the lines be taken and raised they may with more ease be again erected.” The stores of provision, “wheat biskett, oatmeale, beefe and oyle,” he calculates would last about five weeks. Ammunition they were in no want of. He complains of the long arrears of pay due to the Garrison, upwards of six months, from November 2nd, and urges in the most earnest manner the immediate dispatch of recruits, firelocks and tools. Fort Charles, he says, would have been completed but for the want of lime. He concludes his letter beseeching Colonel Fitzgerald to send to the Countesse, who is in France, in order that the poor lady may not come to Tangiers, and asks him to send some one out to take care of the late Earl's effects. He also encloses in Colonel Fitzgerald's note the following sad list of the officers slain:—

"THE NAMES OF THE OFFICERS SLAYNE WITH HIS EXCY.

HIS EXCY REGIM^T.

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| His Excy ye Erle of Teviot. | Lyeut ^t Mansfield. |
| Major Knightlye. | Lyeut ^t Dayley. |
| Capt ^t Langton. | Lyeut ^t Hinton. |
| Major Redgier. | Ensigne Kalketter. |
| Capt ^t Brookes. | En' Brookes. |
| Leutenant Nesmeth. | En' Carr. |
| Lyeut ^t Enbank. | En' Piggott. |

DEPUTYE GOVERNOR^R REGIM^T.

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|
| Major Fitzgerrard. | Ensigne Holmes. |
| Major Bulger. | En' Roach. |
| Capt ^t Wealey. | |

REFFORMADOE.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Coll Chune. | Do ^r White. |
| Capt ^t Gordan. | Mr. Nesmieth. |
| Capt ^t Langton, M'chent. | Mr. Crol } His Excys |
| Mr. Howard. | Mr. Gray } serv ^{ts} |
| Esq ^e Long. | Galliard, his Excys footman. |
| Mr. Luke, Secretarye to my Lord. | |

"My Lord Teviot was slayne with y^e inclosed, and others with y^m to y^e number of five hundred men ab^t 2 myles from Tanger, y^e 3-13 of May, 1664.

"About 30 officers, &c."

In a letter from Mr. Westcombe, the Consul at Bayonne, to Mr. Secretary Bennett he relates that a survivor, a servant of the late Earl, states that the party was first attacked by 3,000 horse and foot, and that the Governor defeated them and pursued them for about a quarter of a mile, when they came upon an ambush of four or five thousand more, so Lord Teviot, finding himself entrapped, retreated to the hill called Jews' Mount with his party of some four or five hundred, and there made his last stand. It was a gallant stand, odds ten to one, no quarter asked or given, only nine men escaped and brought the news to Tangiers. After the annihilation of the Earl's party the Moors came on to the outworks, but these were held so stoutly by our soldiers that the enemy was beaten back and the garrison saved. The servant relates that it is believed the Moors lost three times the number of troops that the Garrison did, and in truth they must have suffered heavily, for they did not again renew the attack. Reports were at once spread in Spain that the Moors had razed our lines and fortifications; but, so far from that being the case, not a point was lost, and had it not been for the great want of lime

the two forts (Charles and Henrietta) would have been completed and ready for defence before the end of May.

Only £1,100 was found in the Garrison after the Earl's death, and this was required to pay the workmen and daily expenses, so that the soldiers and officers continued without pay. The soldiers began to get sick and tired, and evil-disposed persons were reported being amongst them endeavouring to make them discontented with their service. They had now been seven months without pay, the sedition-mongers had therefore good ground to work upon. Four of the soldiers took a boat and escaped into Spain; the next day several more used mutinous expressions, declaring that at the next parade they would cry out one and all, "No money, no guard;" others resolved to run away to the Moors.

Matters were getting dangerous, as the Moors, though they did not again venture to attack, still hovered round the works. At this juncture the garrison was greatly relieved by the arrival of two of His Majesty's frigates, the *Phoenix*, commanded by Captain Alber, and *The Advice*, commanded by Captain Poole. One of the sedition-mongers, a Mr. Wilson, was secured, and the mutinous soldiers tried, two being condemned to be shot. Only one sentence was carried into effect. By prompt and vigorous measures quiet and security were again restored. This Mr. Wilson had been suspected of sending information to the Duke of Medina. The Governor considered him a dangerous character, and reported that he would guard his person until His Majesty's pleasure was made known. A copy of a letter from this man to the Earl of Peterborough, in the Tangiers State Papers, blames the Earl of Teviot for his rash attempt, and states that had the Moors come into the town they would have carried it, there being but one hundred and fifty men left to defend it.

Queen Catherine in this year gave evidence how she could remember, in spite of her translation by her marriage into a new country's interest, the wrongs of her native country. It is reported that she, to the great vexation of Sir Henry Bennett, made the new Spanish Ambassador Don Patricio Omeledio feel her displeasure at the action of Spain. The Ambassador was received in audience at Whitehall on the 19th September, and the cause of Catherine's particular displeasure at this time was that Spain had recently demanded that Tangiers should be given up to them. Charles had given a dignified refusal to this absurd demand, by replying "that they had no more to do with it than they had with Plymouth; that Tangiers was an ancient acquisition of the Crown of Portugal; that he had received it as part of his Queen's dowry; and if they would not allow that to

give him a lawful right to the place, they had better tell him at once that they would come to a quarrel with him for it, in which case he should know how to proceed."*

Sir Richard Fanshaw, in acknowledging the receipt of the sad news of the disaster of the 4th of May, complimented Sir Tobias Bridges on his promptness in making use of all the means available for the defence of the town, and states that he has sent an express to Alicante to find out Sir John Lawson (no doubt to take succour to the garrison); though he says, "I doubt not that you have done that also, wthout disparagement to that unshakennesse of mind as to the mayne, w^{ch} I perceive in you, and w^{ch} is agreable to that particular character of y^r Personall Courage, Conduct, and Loyall affections, to the knowledge whereoff I am lesse a stranger than you are aware of." He also writes, "I am told upon this occasion (inquiring what strong Pillars else we have left at this time in Tanger after soe great a disaster) that old Colonel Alsop is there amongst you; if so, I wonder (being now his neighbour) he would never hint so much to mee, who am not the lesse, but the more his Friend, and desirous to serve him after the accom^t w^{ch} brought us first acquainted."

The Tangiers papers of May, 1664, give the following list of officers and men in the Governor and Deputy-Governor's Regiment. It was doubtless a list taken after the fight, as it does not contain the names of all the officers killed, only mentioning the company commanders and the senior officers.

THE EARL OF TEVIOT'S REGIMENT.

THE LATE GOVERNOR'S COMPANY.

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 3 Sergeants. | Ely Brent, Captain-Lieutenant. |
| 3 Corporals. | Ben. Walsh, Ensign. |
| 3 Lance-Corporals. | John Neville, Quartermaster. |
| 2 Drummers. | George Elliot, Chirurgeon. |
| 72 Privates. | Robert Smalswood, Surgeon's Mate. |
| — | James King, Armourer. |
| 83 | |
| — | |

THE LATE MAJOR KNIGHTLEY'S COMPANY.

| | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 3 Sergeants. | John Giles, | { Do not say the rank. |
| 3 Corporals. | Herbert Board, | |
| 3 Lance-Corporals. | William Hadly, Gent-at-Arms. | |
| 1 Drummer. | | |
| 75 Privates. | | |
| — | | |
| 85 | | |
| — | | |

* Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England, Vol. V., p. 569.

COLONEL NORWOOD'S COMPANY.

| | |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 3 Sergeants. | Henry Norwood, Captain-Lieutenant. |
| 3 Corporals. | William Moore, Lieutenant. |
| 3 Lance-Corporals. | John Philpot, Ensign. |
| 1 Drummer. | Abia. Wadsworth, Gent-at-Arms. |
| 81 Privates. | |
| — | |
| 91 | |
| — | |

CAPTAIN WILLIAM CLINTON'S COMPANY, *alias* FRENES.

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 3 Sergeants. | William Clinton, Captain. |
| 3 Corporals. | John Michell, Lieutenant. |
| 3 Lance-Corporals. | Ste. Sabian, Ensign. |
| 1 Drummer. | John Shakelton, Gent-at-Arms. |
| 74 Privates. | |
| — | |
| 84 | |
| — | |

LATE CAPTAIN BROOKS' COMPANY.

| | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| 3 Sergeants. | John Graham, Captain, } | Officers command |
| 3 Corporals. | Wm. Whitaker, Lieut., } | ing at present. |
| 3 Lance-Corporals. | Richard Vrien, Gent-at-Arms. | |
| 1 Drummer. | | |
| 66 Privates. | | |
| — | | |
| 76 | | |
| — | | |

CAPTAIN DANIEL'S COMPANY.

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 3 Sergeants. | Charles Daniel, Captain. |
| 3 Corporals. | George Lesley, Lieutenant. |
| 3 Lance-Corporals. | Richard Hunter, Ensign. |
| 1 Drummer. | William Hodgson, Gent-at-Arms. |
| 75 Privates. | |
| — | |
| 85 | |
| — | |

CAPTAIN FAIRBORNE'S COMPANY.

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| 3 Sergeants. | Palmer Fairborne, Captain. |
| 3 Corporals. | Richard Heming, Lieutenant. |
| 3 Lance-Corporals. | Richard Ward, Ensign. |
| 1 Drummer. | John Bateman, Gent-at-Arms. |
| 67 Privates. | |
| — | |
| 77 | |
| — | |

COLONEL FITZGERALD'S COMPANY.

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 3 Sergeants. | John Fitzgerald, Colonel and Captain. |
| 3 Corporals. | Kenedy Bryen, Captain-Lieutenant. |
| 3 Lance-Corporals. | Redmond Bourke, Ensign. |
| 1 Drummer. | William Corry Corpor, Gent-at-Arms. |
| 88 Privates. | |
| — | |
| 98 | |
| — | |

FITZGERALD'S REGIMENT.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL FITZGERALD'S COMPANY.

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 3 Sergeants. | — Fitzgerald, Lieutenant-Colonel. |
| 3 Corporals. | James Fitzgerald, Lieutenant. |
| 3 Lance-Corporals. | John Harbord, Ensign. |
| 1 Drummer. | Andrew Cotton, Gent-at-Arms. |
| 82 Privates. | |
| — | |
| 92 | |
| — | |

CAPTAIN MOLLOY'S COMPANY.

(Called Lieutenant-Colonel Molloy's Company.)

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 3 Sergeants. | Charles Molloy, Captain. |
| 3 Corporals. | Daniel Molloy, Lieutenant. |
| 3 Lance-Corporals. | James Molloy, Ensign. |
| 1 Drummer. | Daniel Hijrnan, Gent-at-Arms. |
| 72 Privates. | |
| — | |
| 82 | |
| — | |

CAPTAIN BULGER'S COMPANY.

(Also called Major.)

| | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| 3 Sergeants. | James Bulger, Captain. |
| 3 Corporals. | Daniel Condon, Lieutenant. |
| 3 Lance-Corporals. | Harry Leyes, Ensign. |
| 1 Drummer. | Charles Brady, Gent-at-Arms. |
| 67 Privates. | |
| — | |
| 77 | |
| — | |

CAPTAIN CARR'S COMPANY.

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 3 Sergeants. | Cuthbert Carr, Captain. |
| 3 Corporals. | John White, Ensign. |
| 3 Lance-Corporals. | David Hash, Gent-at-Arms. |
| 1 Drummer. | |
| 75 Privates. | |
| — | |
| 85 | |
| — | |

LATE CAPTAIN LANGTON'S COMPANY.

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 3 Sergeants. | — Langton (late) Captain. |
| 3 Corporals. | Evan Harris, Lieutenant. |
| 3 Lance-Corporals. | Richard Chamberlain, Ensign. |
| 1 Drummer. | Evan Humphreys, Gent-at-Arms. |
| 64 Privates. | |
| — | |
| 74 | |
| — | |

CAPTAIN MORDAUNT'S COMPANY.

| | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 3 Sergeants. | John Mordaunt, Captain. |
| 3 Corporals. | James Pembridge, Lieutenant. |
| 3 Lance-Corporals. | George Hosteham, Gent-at-Arms. |
| 1 Drum-beater (so-called
in this Company). | |
| 65 Privates. | |
| — | |
| 75 | |
| — | |

CAPTAIN NEEDHAM'S COMPANY.

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| 3 Sergeants. | Robert Needham, Captain. |
| 3 Corporals. | Francis Jackes, Lieutenant. |
| No Lance-Corporals. | Edward Pope, Ensign. |
| 1 Drummer. | David Atkins, Gent-at-Arms. |
| 77 Privates. | |
| — | |
| 84 | |
| — | |

CAPTAIN SANDHILL'S COMPANY.

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 3 Sergeants. | — Sandhill, Captain. |
| 3 Corporals. | Edward Emmes, Lieutenant. |
| 3 Lance-Corporals. | Edward Blaney, Ensign. |
| 1 Drummer. | John Ironmonger, Gent-at-Arms. |
| 72 Privates. | |
| — | |
| 82 | |
| — | |

On the arrival of the news of the death of the Earl of Teviot and his brave troops, the late Governor, the Earl of Peterborough, wrote from Drayton to the Government, on the 4th June, offering his services, though "he would not be joined with Fitzgerald any more, nor do desire the command." In his letter he refers to the curious coincidence of the disaster to Colonel Fines and his troops, in 1662, having been on the same date—the 3rd May. On the 7th of June Colonel Fitzgerald's command as Lieutenant-Governor of Tangiers was sent, and amongst the detailed instructions received, he was directed, after mustering and reviewing the remaining troops, to divide them as

before into two Regiments; one of nine companies, to be commanded by himself; the other of eight companies, to be commanded by Colonel Norwood. He is also to "abolish, as much as you can, that national distinction of 'English,' 'Irish,' and 'Scotch.'" The following is a list of the companies.

"THE OFFICERS OF THE TWO REGIMENTS, ALSO THE LIST OF OFFICERS IN THE THREE TROOPS OF HORSE.

THE GOVERNOR'S REGIMENT.

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Governor's Company :</i> | John Fitzgerald ... | Colonel and Captain. |
| | John Giles ... | Captain-Lieutenant. |
| | Francis Painter ... | Ensigne. |
| <i>Lieutenant-Colonel's Company :</i> | Edward F. Gerald ... | Lieut.-Col. and Captain. |
| | James F. Gerald ... | Lieutenant. |
| | Francis Trelany ... | Ensigne. |
| <i>Sir Arthur Bassett's Company :</i> | Arthur Bassett ... | Major and Captain. |
| | Thomas Bassett ... | Lieutenant. |
| | John Reskeymer ... | Ensigne. |
| <i>Captain Molloy's Company :</i> | Charles Molloy ... | Captain. |
| | Stuart Scrope ... | Lieutenant. |
| | James Molloy ... | Ensigne. |
| <i>Captain Mordaunt's Company :</i> | John Mordaunt ... | Captain. |
| | James Pembridge ... | Lieutenant. |
| | John Herbert ... | Ensigne. |
| <i>Captain Chettam's Company :</i> | John Chettam ... | Captain. |
| | Dan. Molloy... ... | Lieutenant. |
| | Edward Pope ... | Ensigne. |
| <i>Captain Victor's Company :</i> | William Victor ... | Captain. |
| | John Brice ... | Lieutenant. |
| | Richard F. Gerald ... | Ensigne. |
| <i>Captain Norwood's Company :</i> | Charles Norwood ... | Captain. |
| | Evan Harris... ... | Lieutenant. |
| | Edward Blany ... | Ensigne. |
| <i>Captain Ely's Company :</i> | Brent Ely ... | Captain. |
| | Redmond Bourke ... | Lieutenant. |
| | Harbert Board ... | Ensigne. |

COLONEL NORWOOD'S REGIMENT.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Colonel Norwood's Company :</i> | Henry Norwood ... | Colonel and Captain. |
| | William Moore ... | Captain-Lieutenant. |
| | John Philpott ... | Ensigne. |
| <i>Lieut.-Col. Alsop's Company :</i> | Roger Alsop ... | Lieut.-Col. and Captain. |
| | Benjamin Walsh ... | Lieutenant. |
| | John O'Neale ... | Ensigne. |
| <i>Major Fairborne's Company :</i> | Palmer Fairborne ... | Major and Captain. |
| | Richard Heming ... | Lieutenant. |
| | Richard Chamberlain ... | Ensigne. |
| <i>Captain Daniel's Company :</i> | Charles Daniel ... | Captain. |
| | George Leslie ... | Lieutenant. |
| | Richard Hunter ... | Ensigne. |

| | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| <i>Major White's Company :</i> | John White ... | Captain. |
| | Francis Jukes ... | Lieutenant. |
| | Henry Size ... | Ensigne. |
| <i>Captain Carr's Company :</i> | Cuthbert Carr ... | Captain. |
| | David Condon ... | Lieutenant. |
| | William Whitaker ... | Ensigne. |
| <i>Captain Legg's Company :</i> | John Legg ... | Captain. |
| | Francis Izard ... | Lieutenant. |
| | George Cane... ... | Ensigne. |
| <i>Captain Bryan's Company :</i> | Kenedy Bryan ... | Captain. |
| | John Michell ... | Lieutenant. |
| | Stephen Tabrum ... | Ensigne. |

THE THREE TROOPS OF HORSE.

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Colonel Bridge's Troop :</i> | Sir Tobias Bridge ... | Colonel and Captain. |
| | Thomas Stackhowse.. | Lieutenant. |
| | Thomas Winfield ... | Cornett. |
| <i>The Governor's Troop :</i> | Jeffery Symmonds ... | Quartermaster. |
| | John F. Gerald ... | Captain. |
| | Alexander Mackenny | Lieutenant. |
| <i>Captain Witham's Troop :</i> | James Hacket ... | Cornett. |
| | John Graham ... | Quartermaster. |
| | Edward Witham ... | Captain. |
| | Robert Scarborough... | Lieutenant. |
| | James Leslie * | Cornett. |
| | Henry Ailward ... | Quartermaster." |

Colonel Fitzgerald received at this time a pension or annuity of £500 a year for "faithfull services at Tangier." Sir Tobias Bridges writes to Colonel Fitzgerald at the end of June that the Moors have not attacked them since the 3rd of May, and that the works are proceeding rapidly, Ann Fort being completed to a height of twenty-six feet, and they had also begun a new redoubt near the Sandhills and had got up to twenty-four feet high. He also states that the widowed Countess of Teviot arrived at Tangiers on the 3rd June, "full of hope and joy," but now most disconsolate, and she is endeavouring to pay the garrison up to the 4th of May for my Lord's honour." Major Fairborne arrived in the same boat with Lady Teviot and took over the charge of the Regiment from Captain Daniel, whom Bridges praises highly for his care and diligence since the disaster.

The Court of Spain was diligently working out its design against the English rule in Tangiers, and while the Duke de Medina Celi had issued a proclamation prohibiting all commerce and traffic, ammunition and materials for Africa, on pain of death, they were at the

* Afterwards Sir James Leslie, a Captain, and Major, in the Second Queen's, and sent as Ambassador to the Emperor of Morocco.

same time sending to Gayland at Arzilla "some great guns with all materials appertaining thereto." This last information was given by a certain John Parsons, of Tangiers, who brought the information from Calais, through a Spaniard Jo. de Roys. They had also sent, by the same hands, "several quantities of ammunition."

About the middle of July Colonel Fitzgerald arrived at Tangiers, and reports finding the Garrison in good condition, the soldiers cheerful and the works progressing. On the 13th Sir Arthur Bassett arrived with 120 men, and "advise that 200 others are following immediately." On the 17th Colonel Fitzgerald writes: "We are going to build two redoubts more to-morrow by y^e sea side to secure the workings at y^e Rock for y^e Mold, and to stop their hiding place proper for their ambushes, and then when y^e weather will allow, we shall fortify y^e town." Gayland, with the help of the King of Spain, was about this time busy erecting a new town and fortification on the site of Old Tangiers, and the Deputy-Governor writes that they can see the works progressing. The Moorish works were reported to be superintended by Spanish engineers in Moorish dress, although the King of Spain had promised to send guns and to furnish the Garrison with arms. Gayland, true to his character, sent his secretary about the end of July to treat for peace, while at the same time he was doing his best to prepare for war. A curious confirmation of this occurred shortly afterwards: a Hamburgher being with his ship at Arzilla, went ashore and saw Gayland, who told him he hoped to have Tangiers in his possession within this month, feeling no doubt full confidence in the power of his ally the King of Spain to help him in his designs.

The King of England had rewarded Sir Tobias Bridges for his devotion by giving him the command of the Horse. The Garrison was still short of provisions, and the Deputy-Governor was pressing for speedy relief. Colonel Norwood and Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzgerald had been sent to Gayland, at Arzilla, as commissioners for the proposed peace. They opened the proceedings by informing Gayland that the King of England had sent him a present of some curiosities; but the negotiations came to nothing, for, after several journeys to Arzilla, Gayland informed them that he could decide nothing until he had consulted his people. His evident intention was war to the knife, and not peace; for the garrison were kept continually on the alert by the Moors lying in ambush and suddenly appearing, and after a demonstration, marching off, "our men never stirring from the lines save only some few horse for discovery."

The progress of the works at the Mole was slow, owing to the scarcity of lime. On the 21st of August Captain Charles Norwood arrived

with eighty-two more soldiers in the ships *Mothyas* and *Loyalty*, but the Deputy-Governor asks for "sixscore more to make up the 500 allowed me at my departure." A letter, dated the 23rd of August, complains that the soldiers, under pretence of quarters, have got possession of the greatest part of the city, and the merchants therefore complain that they have to pay a greatly enhanced rent, "whereby the citizens trade at great disadvantage." * There was great excitement in September at the arrival in the Garrison of five medals and chains to be distributed amongst the troops for their gallant services. Colonel Fitzgerald, in acknowledging their receipt to Sir Henry Bennett by the hands of Captain Witham, says: "There is much emulation concerning the distributing of the medals," and asks Sir Henry Bennett's instructions as to their distribution. One of the medals was given to Sir Tobias Bridges, who gratefully acknowledges this signal mark of favour from the King; another was bestowed on Colonel Alsop. In the same letter Colonel Fitzgerald states he has not sent an answer to Gayland's letter, as he did not wish to do so till he had finished his forts and outworks, which were now completed. He reports also having got 300 or 400 head of cattle from some Moors, so that the garrison had fresh instead of salt meat.

In October, two forts at the Eastern and Western Cove were finished, and 500 palisades were planted about the latter, so that the fort was made very secure.

Two men had been sent by Fitzgerald to Gayland, in September, but he writes the following month that they are still absent, as "Gayland calls all his Grandees together to advise what answer he ought to send me." News was also received that Gayland had got possession of Sallee. The Deputy-Governor strongly advises that one or two of our frigates should constantly be cruising about Sallee and Tetuan to "protect our merchandise and so stop their piracy." †

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 3, p. 38.

† Sallee, the famous port of the "Sallee Rovers," who were dreaded along all the coasts of France and England. "Often these pirates lay under Lundy Island and cut off English merchant ships." Sallee was the last outpost of Roman civilisation."—*Marocco and the Great Atlas*, by Hooker and Ball, p. 65.

"And now we skirted the whitened battlements of Sallee, as I thought it wiser not to pass through that town, where the Nazarene is so much detested that few travellers have entered and returned with impunity from its sepulchral walls, where the remains of many unhappy Christians are said to be imbedded in the stone and mortar, as it was a practice of the Sallee Moors to torment their prisoners by building them alive in the walls of the town."—*Journal of an Expedition to the Court of Marocco*, 1848. Sir John Drummond Hay. P. 24.

About this time there appears to have been some serious misunderstandings between the principal officers of the Garrison. Colonel Norwood and Sir Tobias Bridges considered themselves slighted by the Deputy-Governor, and the feeling of dissatisfaction and ill-will spread so rapidly that constant quarrels took place. One day Major Fairborne and Major White had such hot words that Colonel Norwood, to prevent their fighting, had them both confined; and on Colonel Norwood reporting it to the Deputy-Governor the two latter had a misunderstanding, as Colonel Norwood imagined that he was confined to his quarters; but the Deputy-Governor the next day declared he meant no such thing. A Council of War was called and a reconciliation was effected between Majors Fairborne and White; the Council "also enjoined Captain Brian to ask Lieutenant Harris's pardon for having caned him in the head of the Parade." This Lieutenant Harris afterwards killed Lieutenant Bassett in a duel, which event tended a little to sober the fiery spirits, and the quarrelsome humour burnt itself out.

The following Orders in Council were issued in the months of September and October :—

27th Sep^r.—An Order of Council to officers of the Navy to provide victuals for 3,360 men for two months for Tangier.

30th Sep^r.—A like Order of Council for raising 1,000 Foot and 100 Horse for Tangier.

4th Octo^r.—An Order of Council for granting privileges to Divines, Lawyers, and Physicons, who should attend the Earl of Peterborough thither.

18th Octo^r.—A like Order of Council for payment of 2,000 Dollars and £600 to the Earl of Peterborough.

25th Octo^r.—A like Order of Council concerning payment of that Garrison.

The Earl of Peterborough had been appointed to take up the government of Tangiers, but his letters breathed the most uncompromising hostility to Colonel Fitzgerald. It appears that an account of the Deputy-Governor's quarrels with his officers had been communicated to Lord Peterborough by a Mr. Vernathy, who seems to have been present; for the Earl in writing says, "Since I had sealed my last yours came to hand, wherein is the particulars concerning Tangier; to which I cannot but say that I think it is advantageous to me they should see it was not without reason; the person was incompatible with me, who since has not been able to live with any other."

A later letter, of 26th November, from the Earl to Sir Joseph Williamson, from on board the *London*, bound for Tangiers, refers to

his being in disfavour with the Duke of York, "as he was not dextrous enough to act about what he did not well understand."

Colonel Fitzgerald urged the sending out one of the contractors for the Mole, and wished Mr. Cholmley to be "hastened away" to Tangiers, as then they could go on so much faster without any danger of the enemy interrupting them, as the two forts built at the two coves where the men were then working was completely protected. He complains of the pay of the men being nine months in arrears, and asks for some chains to secure the ships in the harbour, so that they may ride in safety under the guns. Some very curious drawings in a most valuable book in the Library at Windsor Castle show the position of these chains. On the 16th of December the Deputy-Governor again urges two frigates being sent to put a stop to the harm which was being done by Gayland to the merchant ships, as he had been very active since he captured Sallee. Great storms and want of materials had impeded the progress of the work, so that Colonel Fitzgerald longed for money and provisions to arrive, as the officers and soldiers, being ten weeks in arrear, "want credit with the merchants." It appears that the Council at home had been finding fault with the slow progress of the Mole works, which had not been advancing at the rate contracted for, and desired the Deputy-Governor to send home an account of the progress made with the work.

A Warrant was issued on the 17th of December for paying the Garrison a quarter's pay "with money that is there ready;" also for "5 or 6 great anchors & chains for the better riding of ships at anchor;" and also relating to the provisions for Tangiers which had been sent.

In the estimate made of the cost of the new fortifications for Tangiers the amounts for the several years are summed up as follows:

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|---------|
| In the year 1665 | ... | ... | ... | ... | £ | 7,680 |
| " " 1666 | ... | ... | ... | ... | | 4,050 |
| " " 1667 | ... | ... | ... | ... | | 4,500 |
| " " 1668 | ... | ... | ... | ... | | 15,000 |
| | | | | | | £31,230 |

"The Extraordinaries and Reparations in the Town at £800 a year in four years cometh to £3,200."*

* In the Ordnance Minute Book, 14th October, is an entry of two Companies of Foot soldiers from Portsmouth, for supply of Tangiers, and on the 16th advice is sent to Tangiers that four Flags are being sent out, with fifty good muskets, fifty pair of bandoliers, and they were all ordered to be shipped, along with fifty men, for Tangiers.—*Ordnance Minute Book*, 1664, June 8, 1664-5, February 21.

Early in the month of January the Garrison was relieved by the arrival of the provisions sent out from England ; and the first letters of the Deputy-Governor home to the Government contains the comforting belief that Gayland would soon come to terms, a belief which was not warranted by this wily chieftain's actions.

The disagreement between the Lieutenant-Governor and his two chief officers, Colonel Norwood and Sir Tobias Bridges, appears still to have rankled in their minds. Colonel Norwood wrote home, complaining of the treatment they had received. The Lieutenant-Governor also wrote to Sir H. Bennett with reference to the quarrel, which, he hears, has made some noise at Court, but which he calls a slight affair, being "a dispute of some three or four words," and in no way relating to the King's service. In Colonel Norwood's letter he says that the cause of quarrel was that Colonel Fitzgerald peremptorily refused to confirm what they had done regarding the houses in Tangiers, and in consequence "they are in great quantities fallen to the ground." There was, no doubt, some jealousy between them, and as Norwood and Bridges had been in command of the Garrison after the death of the former Governor, and until the arrival of Fitzgerald, it was easy enough for the latter to provoke them by undoing what they had seen fit to do during their temporary command.

The Mole had, following the orders received from home, been surveyed by Colonel Fitzgerald, assisted by Sir Tobias Bridges and Sir Arthur Basset, and they reported that 105,584 cubic yards and 10 feet was completed above ground, and on the Quay 484 cubic yards and 9 feet ; the contractors claim payment for work sunk in the ground, but for which the Lieutenant-Governor says he cannot make allowance. The late rains are reported to have much damaged the outlines of the works ; and in order to make the foundation more secure he asks for 10,000 oak palisades "ten feet long and six or seven inches square, cut diagonal-wise in breadth," and which, he thinks, when planted will better secure the lines.

In a letter dated 28th February, Mr. Cholmley, one of the contractors, suggests to the Lords Commissioners that the new Governor, Lord Bellasyse, should bring over 600 foot soldiers so that there might be 300 labourers for the Mole. This appears to be in addition to the establishment as then fixed, viz., 2,000 foot and a troop of horse, and he estimates that it will take four months to complete the little Mole. He complains that there is not a boat with which to unload the stones, and that they have to bring them by land at low water ; and strongly condemns the want of

Civil Government and the way the soldiers "die apace," for want of proper food.*

Lord Bellasyse the new Governor reports himself at Portsmouth, with some vessels bound for Tangiers, and writes to Sir H. Bennett on the 13th February, congratulating him on being made a Peer.† He states that he had boarded the *Happy Return*, ship from Tangiers, and finds from the reports there that the Garrison is nearly lost for want of provisions and money, the arrears being no less than ten months, and prays that timely succour may be sent and that the arrears of pay be made up. He is weary of waiting in Portsmouth Harbour for the Smyrna vessels, as he is "all impatience to start for Tangier." On the 19th of March Lord Bellasyse was at Plymouth, with his ships, and, the rest of the Smyrna Fleet having arrived, he was ready to sail as soon as the wind was favourable. On that day fifty soldiers from Plymouth and the same number from Pendennis, were put on board, and are stated to have "Shouted their joy to serve the King, which much satisfied the spectators."‡ On the 22nd, Lord Bellasyse sailed "with his Officers and 200 soldiers" in the *Foresight*, *Elizabeth* and *Eagle*, along with the Smyrna Fleet, and some ships bound for Leghorn, Cadiz, Barbadoes, &c.§

On the 12th of April he reports his arrival at Tangiers and expresses his desire to industriously prosecute the work of the Mole and fortifications. The £4,000 brought over by Colonel Fitzgerald was already expended in strengthening the lines and in various public works in the town. He estimates that he will want £10,000 a year for the fortifications in order to properly secure the place, and £10,000 a year

* The date of Lord Bellasyse's commission as Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief at Tangiers is given in Patent Roll as 4th January, 1665, and this therefore is the date of his Commission as Colonel of the Governor's Regiment. Cannon¹ gives 10th June, 1664, as date of Colonel Norwood's Commission as Colonel of the Tangiers Regiment, in succession to Lord Teviot; but there were two Regiments or Battalions at this time, and he commanded only one of the Battalions, or, as they were called, Regiments. His Commission is therefore wrongly given, as Lord Bellasyse was Colonel of the Regiment in right of his being the Governor. Colonel Norwood's date as Colonel of the Regiment is coincident with his succeeding to the command of the Garrison on the retirement of Lord Bellasyse in 1666, Colonel Norwood's Commission as Lieut.-Governor and Commander-in-Chief being dated 21st of February in that year.

† Rather late in the day, as Lord Arlington was created Baron Arlington on 14th March, 1663.

‡ State Papers (Domestic), No. 114, p. 251, and No. 115, p. 260.

§ Ibid., No. 115, p. 266.

¹ Cannon's Historical Record of 2nd Regiment of Foot, p. 7.

for the works of the Mole. In addition to this he asks for the 2,000 Foot soldiers according to the establishment, and begs for 200 recruits, which number he proposes to pay by reducing two troops of horse, and only having one as in the original establishment. Foot, he says, being more useful than horse, as they can be, and are, employed in labour on the Mole and fortifications. Lord Bellasyse relates having taken the Horse and made a march to the place where the Earl of Teviot was slain. This brought the Moors up the next day in considerable numbers, "they having not seen any of ours so far abroad a long time nor shall not hereafter, for our going out is useless and dangerous."

In May the Governor writes to the King:—"I shall give your Majesty a good account of my undertakings, having already in this short time regulated many disorders, dissipated all factions, improved trade, settled the civil authority, and encouraged the Military;" and he assures the King that when they have so far advanced the fortifications and Mole as to make the place safe against the attacks of their enemies, His Majesty will better see the high importance of it to his Crown.*

In June, he writes again requesting the dispatch of strong convoys of men, money, and provisions, as they were beginning to be exhausted, and reports that the Dutch fleet, with eighteen sail of men-of-war, were hovering about the place; but they had not been bold enough to attack the King's ships in the Bay. The Governor had for further protection made use of the Mole by placing a battery of ten pieces of cannon on it at the end towards the sea, and this battery commanded the greater part of the Bay. In the Audit Office Accounts for June there are many entries of expenses for transporting recruits, which is interesting as giving the costs; one item is £316 17s., which was charged for victualling 200 recruits sent to Tangiers. The transportation of 203 recruits to Tangiers cost 30s. each. For con-

* A curious little book, entitled "A Discourse Touching Tangier, in a Letter to a Person of Quality, 1680," page 8, praises highly the position of Tangiers as a port for ships to shelter in, and gives many instances of its value. Once our Newfoundland Fleet escaped falling into the hands of the Dutch Fleet by going into shelter in Tangiers Bay. Sir John Narborough refitted the ships under his command within the Mole, and was often heard to say that he would undertake to refit a Squadron in half the time and with half the charge that it could be done anywhere else out of England.

After an exhaustive account of the tactical and strategical value of Tangiers, he writes "'Tis an outwork of the nation, which you know is a principal strength of a fortress, 'tis a safe port, a magazine, a scale of trade, and a community of brave and loyal men."—Ibid., p. 48.

ducting 200 soldiers to Tangiers Lieutenant Hill received 10s. per diem, and two sergeants 3s. each. It would appear that a considerable quantity of men were obtained from the Plymouth Militia, as an entry of £149 is "for raising and transporting recruits to Tangier, &c., over and above the 1,000 he received out of the Plymouth Militia." *

In this month the Dutch received a severe blow by the great naval victory obtained by the Duke of York over them. The battle was fought on the coast between Southwold and Harwich. De Witt, the great Dutchman, called this victory of the English the "most lamentable disaster that had ever befallen his country, and the most signal advantage ever gained by England over Holland." †

In July fresh news was received by the Garrison of the designs of Gayland. A Jew, named Jacob West, residing in Tetuan, had agreed with the Governor of that place to give Gayland money not to make peace with the English; and, while hindering their trade direct with that place and Sallee, he undertook to furnish both places with English goods, and also with forty Dutch frigates to ride in the bay, and to cut off all provisions from Tangiers, by which means it was calculated that in eight months the place must fall into the hands of Gayland or the Dutch.‡ Gayland had in the former month received a present from Lord Bellasyse, and in sending his thanks, says that, had not Lord Teviot broken the peace he made with Colonel Fitzgerald, it might have lasted his life. He now wishes it might be renewed.

The great naval victory over the Dutch, which caused so much rejoicing, was soon to be followed in England by a great calamity, viz., the Plague, the most terrible visitation of the kind ever known in London. Defoe's famous "Journal of the Plague Year" is a terrible picture of human misery and desolation. The Court of Charles left Hampton Palace on the 27th of June, and slept the first night at Farnham, and then on the next to Salisbury, where they were soon

* Audit Office Declared Accounts (Army). No. 310, Roll 1,220.

† In a letter from Sir William Coventry to Lord Arlington dated June 4th, from on board the *Royal Charles*, he relates that the fight "lasted from break of day till dark." The Dutch it appears fired the first gun. Prince Rupert's squadron led the way with undaunted courage, and soon the whole fleet was engaged. At 10 a.m. it was difficult to say which had the best of the fight, then the Duke of York and Sir John Lawson bore down and sank two ships. Thirteen ships of the Dutch were reported to be sunk and one blown up, but the total loss to the Dutch was thirty ships burnt or taken. Trump, the admiral, and many officers killed, and about 8,000 seamen. Sir John Lawson was hurt in the knee.—State Papers (Domestic) Chap. II., Vol. CXXIII., pp. 407, 409.

‡ Tangiers State Papers, No. 4, p. 9.

followed by the ambassadors and a great many of the nobility. Before the ravages of the Plague were over 100,000 persons are said to have died from it.

The new Governor was working hard to bring the affairs of the Garrison into a satisfactory state. The letters during the month of September give copious details of his arrangements, and the great care he was taking of the soldiers' comfort; keeping them dry, paying them regularly, being always present at the Court of Justice; and, in addition to the Battery on the Mole already noted, he had built a counter-scarp and redoubt on the west side of Peterborough Tower, and had not lost a soldier in bringing in forage for the horses; and he had also organised the English inhabitants into troops in case they were required.

Gayland was still dilatory about the treaty, and had sent in "a lean present." In October the Governor complains of the inconsiderable supply of provisions sent from England; a vessel that was sent alone had been captured by the Dutch. At last the long-expected fleet with provisions arrived in the bay on the 22nd of October, after a severe fight with the Dutch. They were attacked off Cape Spartel, and it seems to have been rather a poor defence, according to the Governor's account in his letter to Lord Bennett.* The fleet consisted of twenty sail, "great and small ships," and they were so vigorously attacked by the Dutch that most of the ships fled. A gallant exception was made by the little frigate *Merlyn*, commanded by Captain Howard, who, by engaging the Dutchmen and sacrificing himself, saved the rest of the victuallers and merchant ships from capture; as it was the loss was severe. The largest victualling ship, two merchantmen, and the gallant little *Merlyn*, remaining prizes in the hands of the Dutch. The remainder of the fleet arrived in Tangiers Bay, but in a shattered state, and was pursued by the Dutch right under the guns of the place.

Lord Bellasyse, in writing on the subject, says the fleet lost, besides the *Merlyn*, two out of three of the victualling ships, and the Smyrnamen richly laden; one frigate, bound for Sallee, deserted the fleet and got safely away into that place. The Governor reported that they had only one month's provisions in the ship that escaped, and that they therefore required immediate supplies. In a letter from Mr. Westcombe, at Cadiz, to Lord Bellasyse, the Duke of Medina is reported to have hindered Gayland from making peace with Tangiers, saying that the Plague was raging there, and making it death to supply the place with any provisions; but the writer adds, "Tangier is in perfect health, and is a great eyesore to the Spaniards."†

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 4, p. 10.

† Idem, page 12.

In December a Royal Warrant declared Tangiers a free Port.

The year 1666 was fated to be noted in the history of England; a year which Dryden, in his "historical poem," calls "*Annus Mirabilis*." The gallant and desperate fights with the Dutch fleets, in which victory only rested with us after the most fearful losses; and which was, alas! stained with the burning of the unfortified town of Brindaris. The fearful and calamitous Fire of London, with its widespread misery and desolation, following so closely upon the equally desolating Plague, make it a memorable year indeed; but it at the same time shows in grand colours the spirit of the great Anglo-Saxon race, rising superior to great calamities, and continuing to march on in grand and enduring constancy to the great principles of truth and liberty which have been our watchwords in all times.

The French King had early in the year joined the Dutch and declared war. In January, the Governor writes home that he has been very busy with new redoubts and breastworks to secure the place against the French and Dutch. A French ship, chased into the bay by the Turkish admiral, was taken possession of by the Governor, and he writes to know what shall be done with her, as he hears the French have seized several of our ships. Lord Bellasyse, the Governor, wrote privately, in January, that he desired to come home, and that he conceived his coming would be to the advantage of his Majesty's service.* He refers to Colonel Fitzgerald's services as worthy the attention of the ministers; but there had evidently been a feeling at home that the Lieutenant-Governor was not quite fitted for his post, so the King conferred the Lieutenant-Governorship upon Colonel Norwood by a Royal Warrant, dated 21st February, which recites: "To our trusty and well beloved Colonel Henry Norwood, greeting," &c., "We do hereby constitute and appoint you to be our Lieutenant-Governor of our City and Garrison of Tangier, and territories thereupon depending, to command-in-chief, in the absence of a Governor, in the room and place of Colonel Fitzgerald, our late Lieutenant-Governor there, whose commission of Lieutenantcy of the 7th day of June, 1664, we have revoked and determined, and by these presents do revoke and determine. To have, hold, exercise, and enjoy the said place of Lieutenant-Governor of our said City and Garrison for and during our pleasure, with all powers, profits, authoritie, dignities, and pre-eminences, thereunto belonging," &c.

* He was in expectation of a place at Court, which he afterwards obtained.

CHAPTER V.

REDUCTION OF THE GARRISON AND APPOINTMENT OF A
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

FROM 1666 TO 1669.

CONTENTS.—Departure of Lord Bellasyse—New Treaty with Gayland—Progress of the Mole—Proposed reduction of two Regiments into one—Stocks erected for Drunkards—Gayland in difficulties—His defeat by Taffiletta—He applies for assistance—Revolt at Tetuan—Capture of French Ships—Privateers fitted out by English—Scheme for reduction of Garrison—Second defeat of Gayland—Duel between Fitzgerald and Fairborne—Taffiletta arrives before Tangiers—Skirmish with the Garrison—Establishment reduced—Gayland besieged by Taffiletta—Relieved by the English—Gayland's flight to Tangiers—Charter of Incorporation for Tangiers—Disputes between the Civil and Military authorities—Recruits from Portugal—Want of victuals and stores—The Mayor deserts his post—Major Fairborne's ride—Collapse of the Mole—Another attack by Moors—Arrival of Lord Middleton.

COLONEL NORWOOD arrived at Tangiers in March, and reports finding the place in a better condition than "the nature of his Majesty's affairs could promise." Lord Bellasyse left Tangiers in April, but before leaving he sent Sir Tobias Bridges home with a packet of letters taken in a French prize at Lisbon. The letters were in cypher, and were from the King of Spain to the Marquis Landes at Paris. It "undoubtedly concerned the peace with Spain." The Governor strongly recommends Sir Tobias to Lord Arlington's notice. He also expresses his regret at the reduction of the troops of horse under the command of that officer. The Governor had arranged a treaty with Gayland, by taking advantage of a quarrel the latter had had with a Spanish Garrison, in which the Moors were badly beaten. Articles were at once prepared and the peace was signed on the 2nd of April. Lord Bellasyse takes credit for this peace obtaining many more advantages than the former one made by the late Lord Teviot. One advantage being that the numerous guards were taken off, thus relieving the town of a charge of £400 a year; assistance was also

G 2

promised by Gayland against all Christians who should attack Tangiers, and permission was granted to take stones for the Mole, as far as Cape Spartel.*

Gayland, on the 22nd of April, sent his acknowledgment of the present of guns, pistols, and horse furniture, and confirms the Peace, but with a proviso that those who come to Cape Spartel for stones must not come ashore, and that his Excellency is to name "six Moors to guard the line and our people from affronts."

In May Colonel Norwood informs Lord Arlington of the approach of the French Fleet, and writes that he is delighted at the intelligence, and that they shall soon be in "so good a condition for their reception and welcome at Tangiers as shall tell the world how vainly they have sought and found their ruin." He sent his own ships away for fear they should be burnt, and dispatched an express to Gayland to let him know how "nearly his honor and interest may be concerned in what was expected to happen." The Fleet passed by Tangiers on the 8th of May and went to Cadiz, so the gallant Lieut.-Governor had not his coveted opportunity. Gayland had been apprehensive that the French had designs upon Sallee, and the Lieut.-Governor took pains to keep this view well in the Moor's mind. The Mole had been extended, so that at lowest tide they had four feet of water at the extreme end.

The Lieut.-Governor, in order to reduce the expense of the Garrison and thus enable Sir Hugh Cholmley to go on faster with the Mole, proposed to reduce the two Regiments of Foot, to one of 1,200 men; but this, with other economies proposed with the Troop of Horse, does not appear from the papers to have been carried out. Further security had been given to the town and works by a parapet to Charles Fort; quarters were also made to hold a company to be kept there for "constant guards." Catherine Fort was also further protected by "palisadoes and turnpikes." It would appear from the letters this month that they were now, thanks to the peace with the Moors, well supplied with food and very happy and comfortable, strongly reliant upon their new Lieut.-Governor who had, the report amusingly states, ashamed the drunkards into sobriety by placing a pair of stocks in the Garrison ready for punishment. A round block-house was set up by the sea-side beyond the Western Cove to overlook the valley and discover ambushes, and to secure a retreat to the Redoubt for the men working at the Mole.

Gayland was now in great straits; deserted by his vassals he

* A copy of the treaty is given in Appendix D.

turned with great confidence to the Garrison of Tangiers for assistance. Taffiletta was advancing, and, as far as Gayland could, he kept Colonel Norwood advised of the progress of the conqueror. About the 21st of this month a great encounter took place between Taffiletta and Gayland, in which the latter was completely defeated and fled to Arzilla. The conqueror had by his spies learnt that Lasin El Phut, the Governor of Benittaros (which was one of the cavilas situated in the range of mountains that naturally guarded Gayland's dominions) was in ill humour with Gayland because he had not been called in to help in arranging the peace with the English. This treacherous Moor, in whose command was situated one of the principal passes through which an army must advance, tampered with Gayland's troops there during the absence of the latter while visiting his relation, Cogeze, Governor of Alcazar, and gave the signal to Taffiletta, who at once rushed at the pass, drove Gayland's troops back, and fell upon the reserves. Gayland, apprised of the disaster, flew to horse, and marched with all speed to the field, and would have most likely gained a victory (for he fought desperately and with dauntless valour, receiving five lance wounds, two of which were in the face,) had his friends and his troops remained faithful to him. Five of his Generals with their men went over to Taffiletta, who had been bought over by El Phut; and Gayland, seeing that he could no longer resist, fled with a small party who remained faithful to him to Arzilla. Addison says that he escaped with only six followers, Tangiers letters say 300: the former says that Gayland ordered the party that stuck to him to seek for their own safety, so it is probable that of the 300 who fled from the field of battle only six guarded their chief into Arzilla.* As soon as he was safe within the walls of the town he sent off an express to Colonel Norwood for assistance, with the following letter:—†

“Ex^t Sir,—

All places are overspread with the Disasters and events of our war. The ill success at this time befallen me hath been by the design of my enemy, a Xerif of Tefilete, who, falling in with his army, surprised my careless out-guards and broke and rooted the whole body. Upon notice whereof I got on horseback at Alcazar but found my people running away in so great disorder that it exceeded my power to rally them till I came to Arzila. Whence I am now necessitated to crave your Excellencies assistance upon the account of that Peace and Friendship solemnly contracted betwixt us, and, therefore, desire that you would send me a boat of good bigness, that if I should be put to any straight I might send

* West Barbary, by Lancelot Addison, 1671, pp. 56-7; and Tangiers State Papers, No. 6, pp. 9-10.

† Idem, pp. 58-9.

to you for succour, which I doubt not but your Excellency will please to send me upon honourable terms. Also I desire your Excellency that in case any of my Guards, of what quality soever, do retire to your City with cattle, or otherwise, that you would vouchsafe to favour them with your Protection, and supply their necessities. I crave your Excellencies commands which I am ready to perform with great willingness.

The bearers your mariners promise to return, by whom I entreat you to send a large embarcation.

May God keep your Excellency.

Arzila, June 29th.

S.V. 1666.

With this letter he sent as a present an English captive, the horse which he rode in the fight, a camel and a young lion; he also asked for a surgeon to be sent to dress his wounds.* The surgeon was at once sent, and a generous and well-composed letter by a kinsman of the Lieutenant-Governor, assuring the fallen chief that every article of the Peace would be exactly complied with, and that any of his adherents who made Tangiers their sanctuary would be well cared for. The letter put new life and spirits into Gayland, and he tried his best to bring back to his help his revolted troops and to organise a defence; but it was all in vain, the conqueror let him have no rest. News arrived that Tetuan had revolted and gone over to Taffiletta. Sallee also was reported to have joined the new ruler. Gayland got together a new force, whom he encouraged by telling that the revolted troops were on their way back to support him, but the vigorous and determined tactics of his enemy worsted him in every encounter, and forced him back, until at last Taffiletta had encamped with a very large force within a league of Arzilla.

The gallant Moor was not yet defeated. He made some desperate sallies out of the town and brought in food to his garrison; but month by month his cause got worse and worse. The sallies also further alienated his adherents, as he had to take supplies whenever he could obtain them from both friend or foe alike. The number of the troops brought against Gayland is reported to have been about 40,000, but is probably overstated.

In Ogilby's Africa an account is given of this fight, which differs a little in detail from the above, but it is exceedingly difficult to get reliable accounts of these Moorish events. The description differs in some cases so materially that it is hard to recognise it as the same event. Ogilby says Gayland drew out against Taffiletta on the 16th June,

* Tangiers State Papers, No 6, p. 10. Colonel Norwood, in a letter to his friend Colonel William Legge (Dartmouth MSS.) writes: "I would you had the presents he sent me, all but my Lady Margt Lyonesse."

but three days after came back again to Alcazar. "About two days after he drew into the Field again and was met by the King of Tafieta, routed and put to flight, with the loss of many and revolt of more soldiers to the King's side." He escaped sorely wounded to Alcazar, but, not daring to trust himself there, within an hour after fled to Arzilla.*

Colonel Norwood, writing home to Lord Arlington in July, reporting the state of the Garrison, says he is both "able and willing to withstand Taffiella," and in a letter of a few days later he says they are actually engaged in war with him.

The Mole was as good as finished "up to 200 yards," and it was hoped that as they were now advanced to deep water, before the summer was over all difficulties would be conquered.

The Lieut.-Governor, "much to Gayland's preservation," observed every article of the peace. A little stone redoubt had been erected where a wooden one was previously, and another was being built on the top of Baker's Folly. They had been successful in capturing prizes of French ships, and Colonel Norwood was given permission to use the money obtained with the prizes for paying the garrison.†

One Sunday in September the Moors made an attack on the magazine, but with only a small party, and they were easily beaten off, and one of their chief officers was killed.‡

The fort raised at the top of Baker's Folly, and various works in the way of trenches to safely enclose ground for use of cattle, were completed in November. Colonel Norwood had encouraged the officers and the merchants of the town to fit out privateers to fight His Majesty's enemies on the sea, and, as the letter naïvely puts it, "to breed seamen for His Majesty's future service."

News arrived that Lord Bellasyse was coming out with supplies for Tangiers.

* Africa, by John Ogilby, London, 1670, p. 183.

† In a letter to Colonel William Legge, the Deputy-Governor gives some interesting particulars of the Garrison and of the straits he is put to to find shelter for the soldiers. In a postscript at the end of his note, which is dated August 12, he writes:—"As for news, Gayland has been defeated, and in a way of recovery two or three times in a month past I have obliged him in little assistance which he seems to [be] very sensible of."

‡ In another letter, dated the 9th October, Colonel Norwood asks particularly that when the new Governor, Lord Bellasyse, comes out he may bring with him six small brass guns, for salutes. He also desires, in case a new contract for the Mole is made, there be no "obligation upon the King to furnish workmen," as it is "little considered in England that the soldrs who labour there are of no use to His Maty's garrison, and they cost His Maty money equal to those who are."

At the end of the year the Governor, Lord Bellasyse, sent in to the Commissioners for Tangiers a draft scheme for reducing the cost of the Garrison. He proposed to reduce the establishment by forming the two regiments of Foot into one; thus reducing them from 2,000 men to 1,600, and to reduce the horse from one troop of 66 to a guard of 40, which he calculated would save an annual outlay of £10,000, and thereby reduce the cost of the Garrison from £70,500 to £60,500.

At the beginning of the year 1667 Gayland's fortunes seemed for a time to improve. In February he thought himself strong enough to hazard a sortie upon the besieging forces of Taffiletta. His friends also appeared for a time to have rallied round him again; but his enemy having only the morning of the sortie received a considerable reinforcement from Fez, Gayland was, after a very gallant effort, driven back into Arzilla with great slaughter, and amongst the slain was one of his brothers. Gayland himself was wounded in two places.

Lieut.-Colonel Fitzgerald seems to have had bequeathed to him the quarrelsome nature of his kinsman the late Lieut.-Governor, for he and Major Fairborne fought a duel in consequence of Lieut. Fitzgerald, a kinsman of Colonel Fitzgerald, being ordered on guard when he considered it was not his turn. On Major Fairborne properly reproving him for questioning his duty the young officer placed his hand on his sword-hilt. On assistance from the guard being called for, the Lieutenant was confined, and the affair was at once reported to the Lieut.-Governor, who approved of the action of Major Fairborne. When Colonel Fitzgerald heard of the disturbance he immediately challenged Major Fairborne. After a few passes Colonel Fitzgerald lost his sword, which was handed back to him by Major Fairborne. The former, forgetting all rules of courtesy and forbearance, immediately attacked his adversary, and the fight would no doubt have ended fatally had not two officers who were passing, parted them. The duelists were confined by the Lieut.-Governor, and after an explanation they were reconciled, and Lieut.-Fitzgerald, the original cause of the trouble, apologising to the officers he had insulted. Colonel Norwood, in writing home an account of the occurrence, recommended that Colonel Fitzgerald be given some other employment, which he thinks "would be for the good of the Garrison."

Constant letters were passing between the fallen Moor at Arzilla and the Garrison. Sometimes he seemed to gain ground, but the disloyalty of his Chiefs was a constant "unknown quantity." Some of his letters were forwarded home to the King and Council, and contained, amongst other propositions, overtures for placing Arzilla under the protection of the King. The Lieutenant-Governor in sending

home the proposition, remarks that, although he undertakes to give no advice, he believes the Tangiers establishment of forces would be able to defend it, and suggests that in case the proposition is entertained Lord Sandwich may be commissioned to treat with Gayland or his agents. He thinks, however, that Taffiletta, with his large force, will certainly destroy Gayland, and is doubtful of the expediency of further identifying the fortunes of the Garrison with their old foe. The Lieutenant-Governor seemed rather to think that in case the conqueror proposed terms to the Garrison, which must have included free commerce with all his towns, it would be better to accept them; but he leaves the decision of this to His Majesty, whose "will" in the matter would no doubt be sent out by "that Hon^{ble} Lord who I hear is destined to succeed my Lord Bellasyse." This reference is to Lord Middleton, who, however, did not arrive till the next year.* The gallant Colonel seems to have had a notion that this treating with Taffiletta might be open to a question of honour and credit; for he says, "in no case will I break off unhandsomely with Gayland, of which I beseech your Lord^{ships} to rest assured."†

The Garrison had carried out their plan of sending out privateers to prey upon the French ships, and Sir Palmes Fairborne, in writing home to Mr. Williamson, on 24th May, says, "They have no news but what their privateering affords them." They had sent out five vessels in all, three of them were armed with twelve to fourteen guns each, one with six guns, and another with four small ones. He remarks:—"They are now at sea, and great matters is expected from them, and in all likelihood the French will pay very dear for the charge we have been in their setting forth."

On the 13th of June the Army of Taffiletta arrived in front of Tangiers, and the Lieutenant-Governor writes that he is preparing the best present the place affords to ingratiate himself with the conqueror, who had also on his side sent his agent (reported to be a friend of the English) into the town to propose terms of peace; but the Lieutenant-Governor,

* Pepys in his Diary, 15th April, p. 380, says:—"Called up by Sir H. Cholmly, who tells me that my Lord Middleton is for certain chosen Governor of Tangier; a man of moderate understanding, not covetous, but a soldier of fortune and poor."

† Tangiers State Papers, No. 8. In a letter (Dartmouth MSS.) of Colonel Norwood to his friend Colonel William Legge, dated 5-15th June, he seems to have been much disappointed at the command of the Garrison not being continued with him; for he remarks:—"I confess I should be as unwilling to quit Tanger as I am to part with England had His Majesty thought me worthy of the whole employment (which I must be thought to understand by this time, or be a

although he is advised that he "had assisted Gayland beyond all obligation of honour and promise by articles," thinks he will be wary, and not enter into any arrangements with Taffiletta until he has convinced Gayland of their necessity. Colonel Norwood strongly advises some of His Majesty's frigates being sent over, as he thinks the conqueror would be more likely to make peace if he saw the English power on the sea, as he is reported to be a great friend to commerce. He reports himself quite ready to receive Taffiletta if he means war; but his preparations were apparently not so perfect as they ought to have been, for he says, "In despite of all my care and plain orders at our several posts," a detachment of the negro troops of Taffiletta fell upon the workmen soldiers at the Western Cove, who had carelessly gone out without arms, and had not placed their sentries on that day, and pursued them until they came within shot of a small redoubt there, when the Moors retreated. In this little skirmish (the first with Taffiletta) we lost four men killed, and five wounded. This seems to have been a slight attack to try our defences, as the conqueror was with his main body, still some eight days' march to the South, laying siege to the old friend of Gayland, the Chief of Beni-Yaruel, who still held out against him. Afterwards it was reported he was going with his whole force to Arzilla, to totally crush Gayland. This latter was reported to have reorganised his army, and to have 3,000 Foot and 600 Horse.

One of Gayland's brothers arrived at Tangiers at the end of June, previous to which one of Gayland's Secretaries had also come to beg assistance from the Garrison. An urgent letter was sent home praying for supplies of shot, muskets, pickaxes, spades, nails, and shovels.

Taffiletta, in a letter of 27th July, was reported to be blocking up Arzilla, from which place he would march against Tangiers, or propose a peace. Colonel Norwood had been trying by a ruse to find out how he was inclined, by offering to redeem eight English captives Taffiletta had in his house at Fez, and whom the Lieutenant-Governor had been informed the conqueror would sell. He considers if the Garrison is attacked by sea they will

blockhead without excuse), but his royal will be fulfilled." In the same note he remarks with reference to Taffiletta and Gayland:—"The newest known is, in short, that Gayland is almost at ye last period of his power. Taffiletta now in these fields and will certainly offer me the articles of our last peace, at least, which I will not accept at soe deare a rate, since I find by this summer's experience we can enjoy the same benefit of forrage (the only advantage we get by peace) by protection of the new Fort Kendall and its lines."

be hard put to it, "For," he writes, "at least fifty great guns are wanted."*

Colonel Norwood writes on the 26th October to ask for leave to come home; also hopes that the new Governor, Lord Middleton, will bring money and stores with him.

The cost of the Garrison was giving the Commissioners much trouble.† Pepys, in his Diary, gives an account of the meeting of the Tangiers Committee, and how Sir W. Coventry pressed upon them the necessity for the reduction of the cost of that Garrison. The Lord Chancellor and the Duke of York wished to put off the consideration of it till another time; but, says Sir W. Coventry, "the King suffers so much by the putting off of the consideration of reductions of charge that he is undone: and therefore I do pray you, Sir" (to His Royal Highness) "that when anything offers of the kind you will not let it escape you."‡

Major Fairborne, writing home to Mr. Williamson on 9th November, complains about the contemplated reduction of the Garrison to 1,200 men, which, "considering those that are at work on the Mole, officers' servants, the several tradesmen that are freed from duty for the King's work, and the like men (which can never be less than fifty), the 1,200 men will not produce 800 duty men, which will bring the soldiers to less than third nights' duty, and the guards but weakly manned."

At the beginning of the year a reduced establishment of the forces of Tangiers was proposed and adopted. It was as follows:—

**AN ESTABLISHMENT FOR ONE REGIMENT OF FOOT AND THIRTY HORSE
FOR THE GARRISON OF TANGIER.**

| | | | | | | Diem. | Mensem. |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----------|-----------|
| | | | | | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| 1 Colonel at | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 00 12 00 | 16 16 00 |
| 1 Lieut ^t -Colonel at | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 00 07 00 | 09 16 00 |
| 1 Major at | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 00 05 00 | 07 00 00 |
| 12 Captains each at 8 ^s per diem is | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 04 16 00 | 134 08 00 |
| 12 Lieut ^{nts} each at 4 ^s per diem is | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 02 08 00 | 067 04 00 |
| 12 Ensigns each at 3 ^s per diem is... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 01 16 00 | 50 08 00 |

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 8.

† Cannon in his History of the Regiment writes (p. 8), with reference to the appointment of Lord Middleton, "The death of this valuable officer, which occurred in 1668, made room for the appointment of John Earl of Middleton, whose Commission as Governor of Tangier and as Colonel of the Queen's Regiment is dated the 15th of May, 1668." The date of his commission according to the Patent Roll is 22nd May, and he did not succeed on the death of Colonel Norwood, but upon his resignation of his command.

‡ Pepys' Diary. p. 417, 22nd July, 1667.

| | Diem. | Mensem. |
|--|-----------------|--------------------|
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| 36 Serjeants at 18 ^d each is | 02 14 00 | 75 12 00 |
| 36 Corporalls each at 12 ^d is | 01 16 00 | 50 08 00 |
| 24 Drumes each at 12 ^d is | 01 04 00 | 33 12 00 |
| 1,440 Privat Souldrs each at 9 ^d is | 54 00 00 | 1,512 00 00 |
| Totl for ye ffoot | 69 18 00 | 1,957 04 00 |
| 30 Horse at 2 ^s 6 ^d each is | 03 15 00 | 105 00 00 |
| To them an officer having Lieut ^{ts} pay at ... | 00 06 00 | 08 08 00 |
| 1 Corporall at 3 ^s | 00 03 00 | 04 04 00 |
| 1 Trumpeter at 2 ^s 8 ^d | 00 02 08 | 03 14 08 |
| 1 Farrier at 2 ^s 6 ^d | 00 02 06 | 03 10 00 |
| Totl for ye Horse | 4 09 02 | 124 16 08 |

STAFF OFFICERS, THE TRAIN OF ARTILLERY, &c. :

| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|--|---|---|
| The Governor at | 04 02 2 ³ / ₄ | 115 01 4 ¹ / ₁₆ |
| The Deputy Governor at | 00 16 5 ¹ / ₄ | 023 00 04 |
| 1 Minister at 10 ^s | 00 10 00 | 014 00 00 |
| 1 Engineer and Muster Master of the fortifications | 00 06 00 | 008 08 00 |
| 1 Judge Advocate at | 00 05 00 | 007 00 00 |
| 1 Physitian at | 00 10 00 | 014 00 00 |
| 1 Chyrurgion at | 00 04 00 | 05 12 00 |
| 1 Chyrurgions Mate at | 00 02 06 | 03 10 00 |
| 1 Quartermaster Provost Martiall and Servants | 00 08 00 | 11 04 00 |
| 1 Comisary of the Musters at | 00 06 00 | 08 08 00 |
| 1 Comisary of amunition and provisions for himself
and assistants, to account to the officer of the
ordnance for amunition at | 00 10 00 | 14 00 00 |
| 1 Town Major at | 00 08 00 | 11 04 00 |
| 1 Comptroller of the ordnance and firemaster, to
account to the officer of ordnance | 00 05 00 | 07 00 00 |
| 1 Master Carpenter at 3 ^s | 00 03 00 | 04 04 00 |
| 6 Gunners each at 18 ^d | 00 09 00 | 12 12 00 |
| 18 Matrosses at 12 ^d | 00 18 00 | 25 04 00 |
| Totl for the Staff Officers... | 10 03 1¹/₄ | 284 07 8¹/₁₆ |

Further allowances, of wch an exact account to be returned every three or six months :—

| | Diem. | Mensem. |
|---|---------------|-----------------|
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| For the Hospitall besides ye Souldiers pay when sick,
added to the hospitall towards maintenance ... | 01 10 00 | 42 00 00 |
| For Coals and Candles | 01 10 00 | 42 00 00 |
| For Boats | 00 07 11 | 11 01 08 |
| Total of these... | 3 7 11 | 95 01 08 |

Soe y^e total charge of this Establishment is :—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---------------------------|------|----|------------------|
| Per Diem | 0087 | 08 | 02 |
| Mensem | 2461 | 10 | 0 $\frac{4}{10}$ |
| Quart ^r | 7999 | 17 | 6 |

January, 1668.

The military forces of the Garrison were thus reduced to one Regiment of 1,400 men, and half a troop of Horse. The Lieutenant-Governor recommends strongly to Lord Arlington's protection and favour Captain Witham, who, by the reduction, is deprived of his troop, and sends him home with the full account of the Tangiers affairs. Sir Palmes Fairborne writing to Mr. Williamson, considers that the King sustains the greatest loss in "Ned Witham, whose valour and discretion hath been ever highly extolled amongst us."

The King's Council had been deliberating as to the expediency of establishing a Civil Government in Tangiers, no doubt considering that the place might now be trusted, and thus relieve the military of a large portion of their civil duties. As will be seen later on, this scheme was not a success, and considerable trouble came of it.

In May, Gayland was in great distress for provisions, being closely besieged by land with Taffiletta's forces; he was relieved by ships sent from Tangiers, for which he expressed great gratitude.

At a Council of the Court held at Whitehall, on the affairs of Tangiers, on the 15th May, at which were present the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and twenty-three other lords and gentlemen, it was ordered that out of the two Foot Regiments in Portugal four hundred men with officers should be drawn and sent to Tangiers, two hundred to complete the establishment of fourteen hundred, and two hundred to replace that number that desire to return home. The officers were as soon as they had delivered the troops to return home to England.

In July, Gayland's affairs in Arzilla came to a crisis; his troops mutinied and he could struggle no longer. He fled to Tangiers with three hundred and sixty of his followers, men, women and children. The Lieutenant-Governor received the fallen Moor with kindness, but for the better security of the Garrison he disarmed the fugitives. The Moor had not forgotten to bring with him his wealth, for he is said to have carried with him three millions of pieces of eight. Taffiletta was reported to have expelled all Christians out of Sallee, and that he would fall on all Christian Garrisons, "unless he makes war with the Algerines." Colonel Norwood again writes to Lord Arlington, on 27th August, desiring leave to come home, which he

hopes the speedy arrival of Lord Middleton will much facilitate.*

The charter for the new Corporation ordered by the King's Council on the 18th January to be forthwith prepared did not arrive till about August, and it was directed to be composed of a Mayor, six Aldermen, and twelve Common Council: a Court of Justice was to be set up to be presided over by the Mayor and a Recorder, and in their absence three Aldermen: "and also another Court more peculiar for the determining all mercantile and maritime affairs." The laws were directed to be as near as possible like to those in England, but, in case it might be found advisable, in consequence of Tangiers being a foreign country, to change or amend them, the Charter gave power to the Corporations to make municipal laws, to be in force for one year. The introduction of this civil power, "being an abridgment to the military, occasioned it to be received with so much heat as might have been of worse consequence had not the Earl of Sandwich happened to be there at the time, by instructions taking Tangiers on his way as he passed from his extraordinary embassy in Spain to England, by whose authority and prudence all difficulties were overcome, and the King's Charter received with such peace and quietness as became the duty of his subjects, without any other appearance of discontent than what remained from such private animosities as are not unusual among persons of different interest and factions.†

The animosities that soon arose between the military and civil power centred themselves in the person of Mr. Bland, the Mayor,

* In a letter (Dartmouth MSS., 1667-1670) from Colonel Norwood to "The Hon^{ble} Coll. William Legge, Lft. of the Ordnance, at his house in the Minorites," he writes, "My Lord Ambassador will tell you all or newes, and 'tis pittie you should have it from any other hand since his Ex^{cy} has taken sixteen dayes allready in giving himself a full information of every minute part of the Mole and Garrison, I have many things in my mind that would fayne come up, but I hope my leave to come speedily home will facilitate our correspondence." In a letter to the same correspondent dated 20th September (Dartmouth MSS., 1667-1670), he hopes Lord Sandwich is returned with the true state of all questions, touching Tangiers. He also urges a speedy supply of stores and money; no money since last November, and they only subsist by what he can borrow "in specie or in money." The corporation had "engaged" Lord Sandwich to try the King to allow them the revenue of Tangiers (estimates it as £1,500 per annum, but may be more when Mole is done) in support of the Magistracy. Norwood writes very humorously and contemptuously about the new Court.

† An Account of Tangier, by Sir Hugh Cholmley, Bart., pp. 73 and 76.



AN OFFICER OF THE TANGIERS REGIMENT, 1669

• **Don't** "Share" your work with your friend.

[illegible]

There was a conference between the military and of the police and the person of Mr. Burt, the Mayor.

[illegible]

[†] *An Account of Tonkin*, by Sir Hugh Clarendon, London: 1686, p. 70.



WOODBURYTYPE.

AN OFFICER OF THE TANGIERS REGIMENT, 1669.

who was the cause of considerable trouble; but reports sent home by the Lieutenant-Governor and Major Fairborne describe the inhabitants and strangers as highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the Corporation. A letter of the latter to Mr. Williamson* rather amusingly says, "that was not the soldierly part well governed, and the officers a good tempered set of gentlemen, Mr. Bland's great pride, with his foolishness, would soon breed a great Distraction amongst us." He is sure Lord Middleton will find enough to do to keep a good understanding amongst them, and to keep the Corporation from infringing on his power. On the 23rd September the four hundred recruits from Portugal arrived in Tangiers under the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsden. "Very brave men" they are called. And upon their arrival one hundred and thirty of the worst of the men of the garrison were sent away. The establishment was now complete, but in direful want of supplies, so much so that the Lieutenant-Governor expresses himself as very sorry at the arrival of the recruits. Besides the want of victuals, and stores to repair the walls and quarters, the arrears due to the garrison (twelve months) "is almost unsupportable."

It must have been a weary time for this band of Englishmen, so far from home and with savage relentless foes, treacherous and fanatical, to be left to battle on under such neglect and difficulties. It is a lurid picture of the state England had got into under the restored monarchy when one of the outlying places was left in such a state of destitution. Major Fairborne writes, "Tangier never was in worse condition than at present. I hope some care is taken to remedie this, or else the Lord have mercy upon us."

The Mayor, Mr. Bland, by his conduct at length brought about such a feeling of discontent that he could no longer endure it, so he quietly departed for Spain, without warning, on the 18th October. Colonel Norwood, reporting the case, says that the Mayor fancies the income of the Crown to be the perquisites of the Corporation; and later on, in a letter to the Duke of Albemarle, he refers to the patience he has had with him, but which only served to increase his presumption, so that he had left his post and gone home without giving notice of his resolution even to his own brethren in the Corporation. As Mr. Bland was supposed to have gone to England, the Lieutenant-Governor sent home Captain John Mordaunt to see the Duke of Albemarle, and present the proper case to him, and also the

* Tangiers State Papers. No. 10.

"sad relation of our stores of victuals." It was some satisfaction to them to learn that £10,000 was sent to "cheer our hearts." *

A gallant service was performed by Major Fairborne on the 26th December. He was riding about the lines with his wife behind him when he heard several shots fired from James Fort. Upon hastening thither he was told by the officer on guard that a soldier had run away to the enemy, and that he was already out of sight, and had apparently escaped their shots. The gallant Major desired the officer to take down his wife from behind him, and, taking his piece from him, rode after the fugitive, and was fortunate enough to catch him and bring him back. It was a most dangerous feat, as the Moors were in great numbers about the vicinity. After bringing the man in, Major Fairborne took up his wife again behind him and continued his rounds. The man was tried, and condemned to be hanged on the 2nd of January following.

A great misfortune happened to the works in December by the Mole giving way, to the great disheartening of the overseers; occasioned, as they say, by the badness of the stone."† The only remaining original "undertaker" or contractor, Sir Hugh Cholmley, writing about it, says:—"The Mole had now for about three years advanced with continual good progress and approbation, the carts bringing daily great quantities of stone without any obstruction from the storms and the weather, and the work not having received from the sea the least of damage; but about the end of December in this year and the beginning of January following happened the first breach, the noise of which filled all the *Gazettes* of Europe; and though this was in consequence no more than what is usual in such like works, it was, however, represented into England with so much inflammation, on the one hand, and again on the other so much lessened, that the truth of the bare matter according to fact was hard to be judged by those that were unbiassed in the affair."‡ Major Fairbourne, writing home about it,

* Colonel Norwood relieves his feelings about the Mayor in a letter to his friend, Colonel Legge, dated 10th November, in which he writes (Dartmouth MSS., 1667-1670), "I am gotten out of the frying-pan into the fire; no sooner escaped the fury of the Turkes, but I am by the ears with a Mayor of Tangiers;" and goes on to remark, "I know I must be tender of corporations, they have been much blessed birds unto the Crown;" and, as evidence of the keenness of his trouble, he says, "I thought wthin this month that Sattan himself in person could not have put me into any manner of disorder wth this man, nor could I have been brought to be in earnest wth him unless his malice had been such as you will see of much ill consequence to the garrison."

† Tangiers State Papers, No. 10.

‡ An Account of Tangiers, by Sir Hugh Cholmley, Bart. p. 76.



AN OFFICER OF THE TANGERS IN 1780

[illegible][illegible]

2. An Account of the Jews by Sir Joseph Smith, B. 1, p. 76.



AN OFFICER OF THE TANGIERS REGIMENT, 1669.

says, "I do believe it can never be effected unless they resolve to build in chests, as they have at Leghorn and Genoa"—a method which was afterwards adopted.

Colonel Norwood reports to Lord Arlington in December that the stranger merchants are highly aggrieved at many harsh usages from Mr. Bland the Mayor, his Deputy, and one Balam the Recorder. He sends the complaints first as he received them, with a copy of the reply he thought proper to send for their present satisfaction, but desires His Majesty's resolution on the same.

The letters of the Lieut.-Governor at the beginning of the year contain a full description of the damage done to the Mole by bad weather and "violent seas." He also reports being still unable to bring the magistrates to a right understanding. On the 2nd of February he writes to Lord Arlington that the Moors are "plowing ground nearer to the fort this year than ever," and that rumours are current of a train of artillery being prepared by them. In June the Moors appeared in great numbers, both horse and foot; and "upon Sunday the 27th, in the forenoon, they laid a considerable ambush under Cambridge Fort, which was presently discovered by our sentinels, and the enemy beaten off by our great guns with some visible loss. The Wednesday following they appeared near St. Ann's Lane, but with no better success than before. On Friday, the 2nd July, about seven in the morning,

NOTE.—In the Ordnance Minute Books of 28th September is an account of the provisions remaining to be sent to Tangiers which were short of Colonel Norwood's requisition made in July, 1667; and on December 23rd there is a further account of provisions to be prepared and sent. On the 19th of the same month orders were given to send 824 "pallisadoes," and also to know if Colonel Legge "be sent to know whether any warrant be passed for any more provisions for Tangier than mentioned in Colonel Norwood's letters."

Considerable activity seems to have been displayed this year in sending stores to Tangiers. Two Orders in Council were issued for sending stores in January, and an urgent request is made to provide ships for transport. In February contracts were made for standing carriages, culverins, &c., and for ironwork for same; and in the next month there are six entries in the Ordnance Books for considerable shipment of stores, including guns, 1,000 palisades, muskets, shots, and 6,000 deals. In April 600 swords were ordered to be cleaned and oiled for Tangiers, and amongst other stores ordered are six brass guns and one small gun for presentation to Taffiletta; and the engraver was ordered before the guns were shipped to "take out the names of Queen Elizabeth, which were on the guns, and that of King Charles II. be inserted." They were apparently rather antiquated and useless ordnance, and Lord Howard complained of the quality of two of them, which he said would give us discredit by their uselessness.—Ordnance Minute Books, 26th September, 1668; August, 1669.

"they laid a great ambush within the pallisadoes of the Western Cove, with the intention, as we supposed, to have intercepted our guards upon the relieving, which being done by the Governor's order but once a fortnight defeated them of their design; but the enemy being discovered by the barking of dogs which are purposely kept there-by, our people and soldiers with so much readiness appeared with their arms and grenades to oppose them, which they taking notice of immediately withdrew, but not without many shot, and some men killed, whom they were seen to drag away between the pallisadoes and the sea."* At nine o'clock the same day they made an attack on the town between James Fort and Monmouth Forts, and evidently intended also to attack James Fort. The Lieut.-Governor immediately ordered Major Fairborne to advance against them with one hundred and fifty men, under the command of Lieut. Philpot and Ensign Richard Fitzgerald. They advanced between the two forts, each fort thus protecting a flank, and "after a hot dispute for an hour the enemy was forced to retire with considerable loss, and we consider some great man slain by hearing three salvoes of shot fired by the enemy, we think for the funeral."†

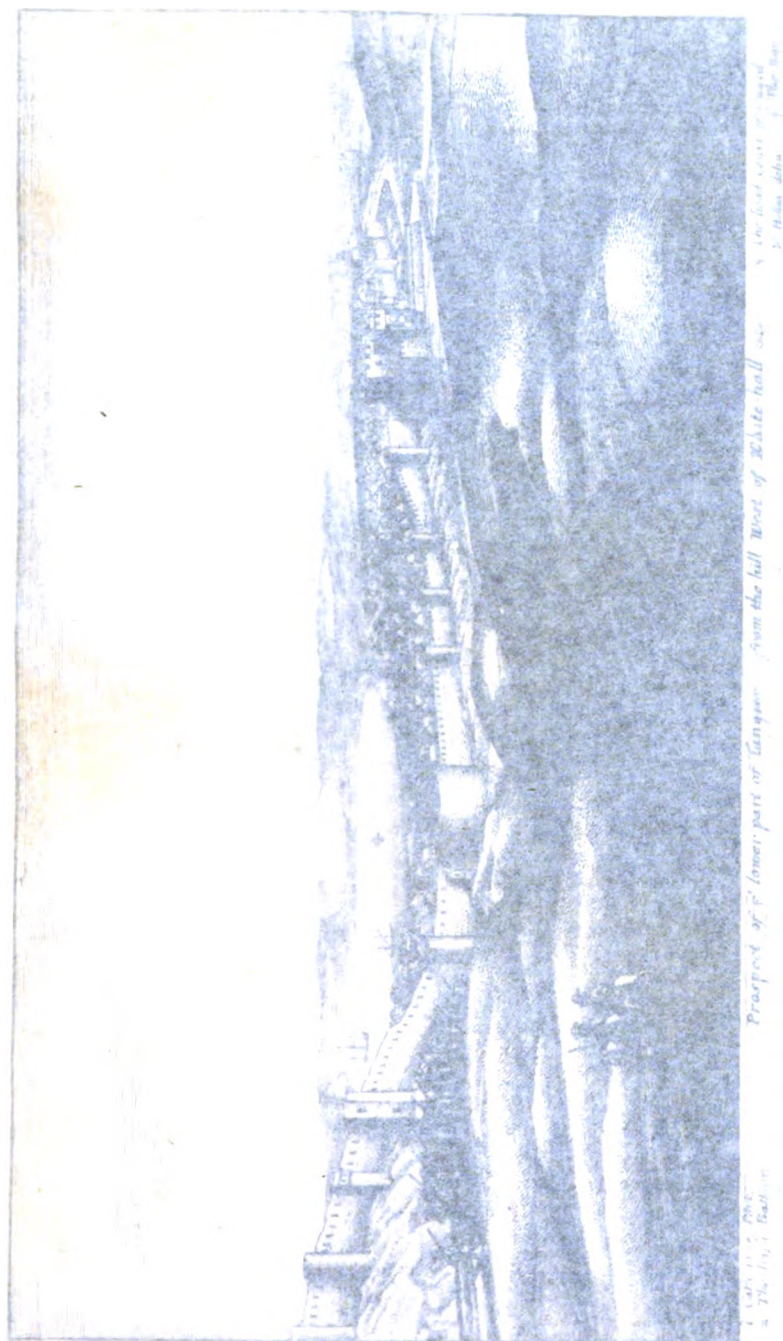
On the 18th a considerable party again tried to force their way in, coming first into sight from behind a hill near James Fort, whence they "drew to the sandhills between James and Monmouth Forts, whereon the Lieut.-Governor again commanded Fairborne with a good party of musketeers to the line, where began a warm dispute for above an hour after, whereon the enemy with considerable loss, retired; the Garrison receiving no hurt, but only by the death of one corporal."‡

At the beginning of October the new Governor, Lord Middleton, arrived, and found Lord Harry Howard, who had been sent with a great train as Ambassador Extraordinary to his Majesty Taffiletta. The Ambassador remained two months in Tangiers endeavouring to make terms with the conqueror, but little resulted from the embassy. During his stay in Tangiers waiting to go to the court of the Moorish King, "Sports were got up to relieve the dulness of the

* *London Gazette*, 1669. Report from Tangiers, dated 24th July.

† Tangiers State Papers, No. 12. In a later letter in this month (15th July) to Lord Arlington Colonel Norwood gives an account of their discovering that the Moors were still about the place by the English troops essaying to burn the corn of the enemy. In the same note he makes a sad admission, that the soldiers fall sick at the rate of ten a day.

‡ *London Gazette*, 1669. Report dated Tangiers, 24th July.

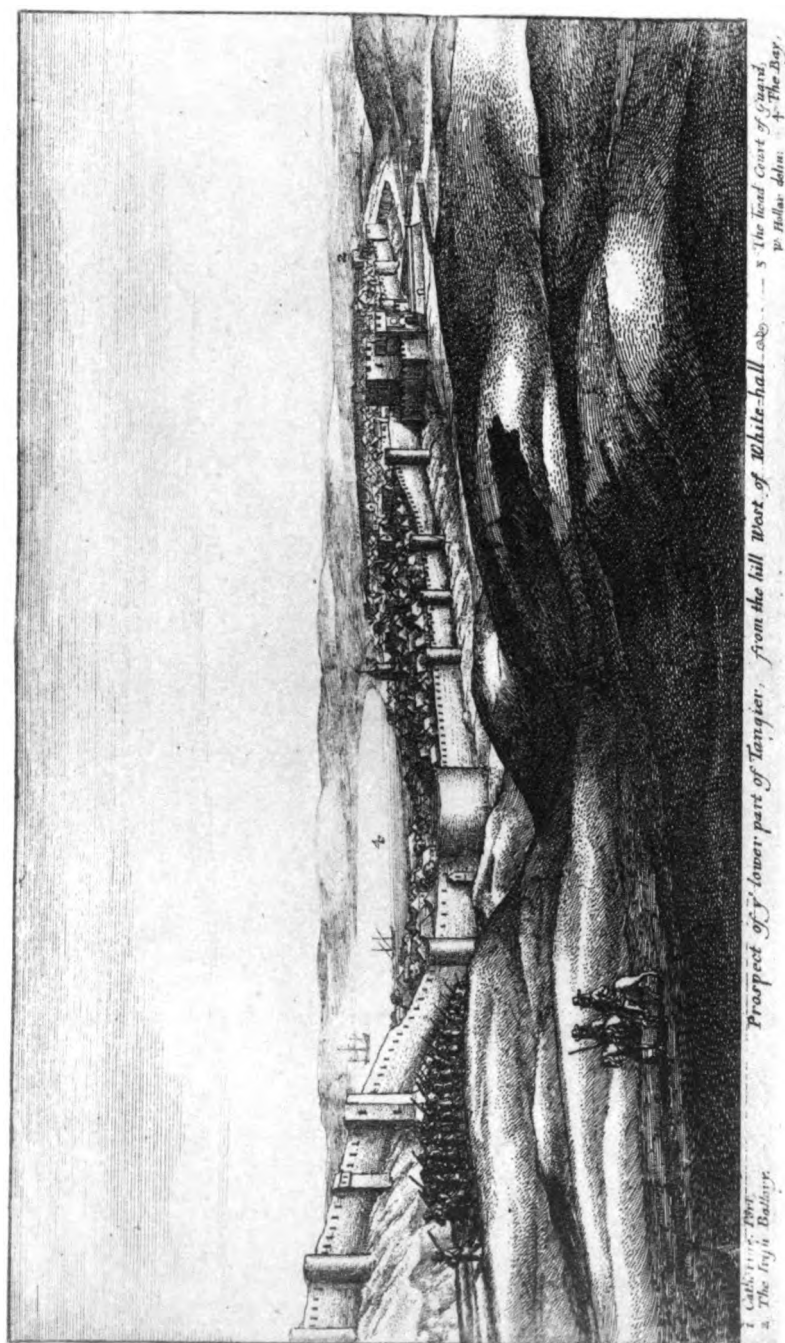


A View of the Mill at Whitehall
 as it appeared in 1840

Engraved from the hill west of Whitehall by
 J. H. Johnson

VIEW OF THE LOWER PART OF TANGIER THE HILL WEST OF WHITEHALL

Engraved by J. H. Johnson



VIEW OF THE LOWER PART OF TANGIER, FROM THE HILL WEST OF WHITEHALL.

From the Engraving by Hollar in the Royal Library at Windsor.

place by day, such as backsword, wrestling, ball and cudgel play, and bull baiting, and at night twice a week the recreation of dancing.*

Colonel Norwood did not remain long after the arrival of Lord Middleton, but returned to England in November, and from this time disappears from our history. In Cannon's history† he is put in the chronological table as having died at Tangiers in 1668, which is a manifest error. He is also mentioned in Sir Hugh Cholmley's papers as returning to England in November, 1669, and he continued his reports home until the arrival of Lord Middleton on the 9th October.‡

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 12. † Cannon's Records of the 2nd Foot, p. 8.

‡ The accounts of Pepys (Audit Office Declared Accounts, No. 310, Roll 1,221) give some interesting particulars of costs, amongst the items are: 588 cwt. of biscuit, a bushel of peas, and 2 lbs. of butter issued to Gayland's family at Tangiers, £5 4s. 10d. The maintenance of the hospital from 12th May, 1666, to 11th June, 1669, cost £2,019 14s. 9d. The auditors of Imprests received for auditing the accounts of the King's guards garrisons the fee and yearly allowance of 30s. for every troop of Horse and company of Foot. (The Garrison at Tangiers consisting of 12 companies of Foot and one troop of Horse). The total charge—including the auditing of the accounts of the Field and Staff Officers from 15th September, 1666, to 2nd August, 1669—being £73 9s. 8d.

CHAPTER VI.

GOVERNMENT UNDER LORD MIDDLETON AND LORD
INCHIQUIN.

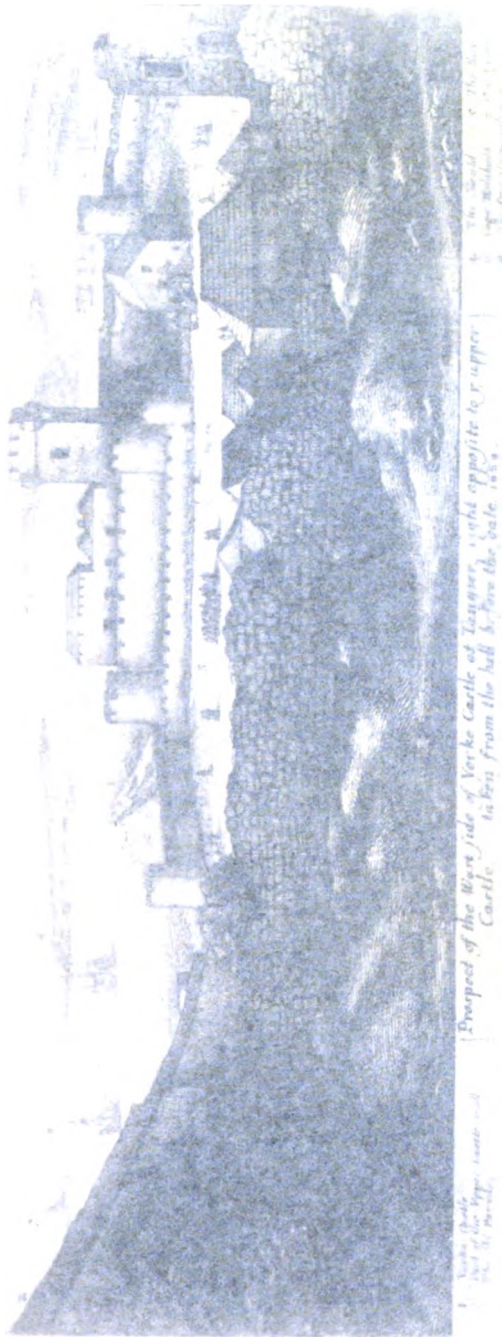
FROM 1670 TO 1677.

CONTENTS.—Lord Middleton's Policy—Establishes Free Markets—The Surveyor-General of the Mole—Application for more Troops—Promotion by seniority—Trouble with the Moors—Want of Provisions—Gayland renews his intrigues—New Treaty—Pay of Garrison sixteen months in arrears—New King of Morocco—Fighting between the Moors—War against France and Spain—Death of Lord Sandwich—His character—Native Wars—Death of Gayland—List of his Forces in 1666—Corporation to furnish Statement of Revenue—The King of South Barbary—Death of Lord Middleton—Lord Inchiquin appointed Governor—New Establishment—Attack on the Forts—Improvements under Sir P. Fairborne—Mutiny—Strong measures—Peace concluded with Emperor of Fez and Morocco—Census of Tangiers—Garrison upwards of two years in arrears of pay—Soldiers sell their clothing—Treachery of the Moors—The Plague.

LORD MIDDLETON on his arrival at Tangiers found a good deal of uneasy feeling in the town and Garrison in consequence of the disputes and disturbances between the new civil and the late "supreme" military authority. He lost no time in endeavouring to bring about a better understanding, and succeeded so well that in January we find Major (now Sir Palmes) Fairborne writing home how well Lord Middleton was liked by both corporation and Garrison,* and another writer also says "that in a little time there was a public harmony and peace."† He set to work also with great zeal to encourage the trade of the place, and made the markets free to all. This had soon an excellent effect, by lowering the price of provisions, which were supplied and sold at one half the former rates. The castle was

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 13.

† An Account of Tangiers, by Sir Hugh Cholmley, Bart., p. 78.



Perspective of the West side of New Castle of Longue, with opposite to the upper
 Castle. Taken from the hill before the Gate. 1684.

VIEW OF THE NEW CASTLE OF LONGUE

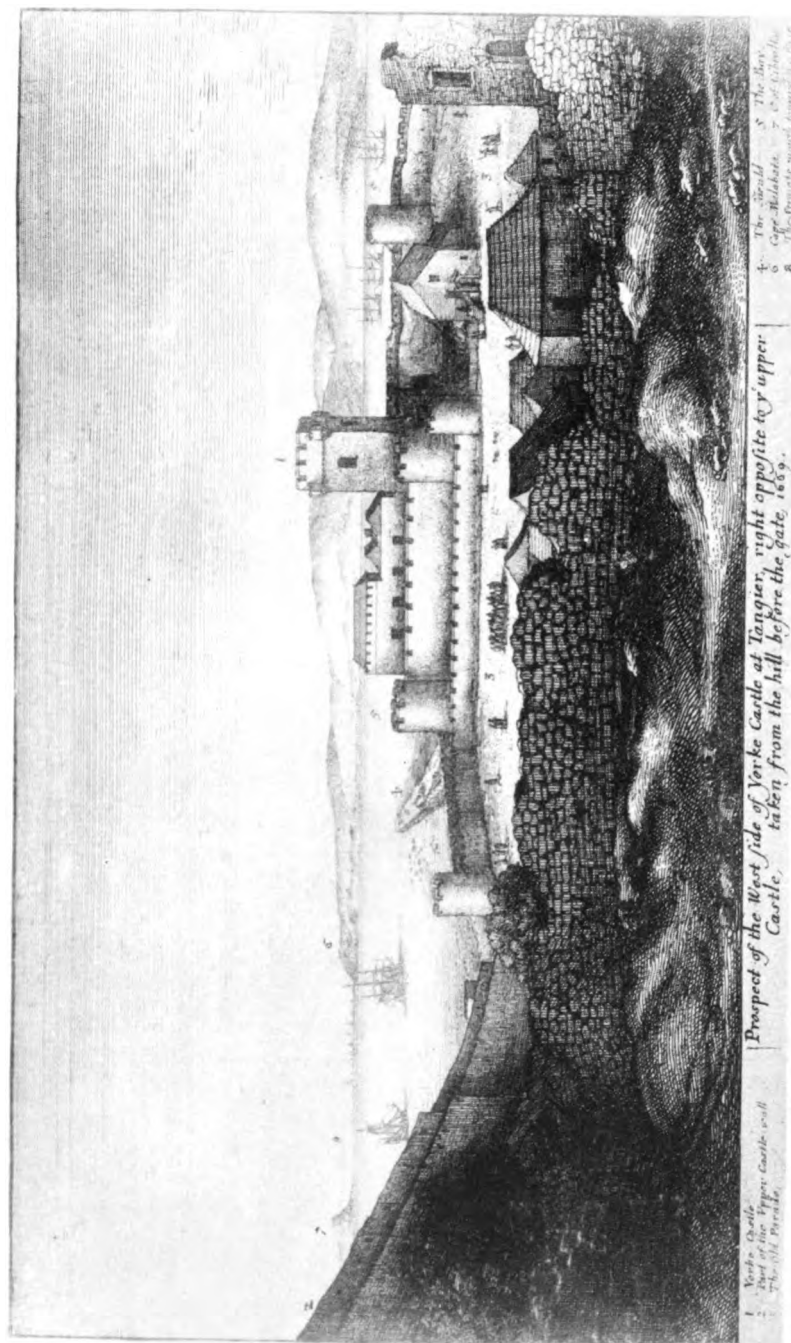
1684

SHIPLETON AND TORO
PUBLISHERS

[illegible]

* 10. $\vdash \text{Con} \rightarrow \neg \text{Con}$ (X = 13).

* 11. $\vdash \text{Con} \rightarrow \neg \text{Con}$ (see Beth's Challenge, Part, p. 78).



VIEW OF THE WEST SIDE OF YORK CASTLE TANGIER, 1669.

From the Engraving by Hollar in the Royal Library at Windsor.

in a most ruinous state, and was put into good repair; York Castle he also repaired; and, it being the chief magazine for powder and warlike stores, he had a quay made for the convenience of vessels unloading, and formed a roadway between the City and the Mole. These improvements are fully described in a valuable work of the period containing plans of the works, with the following description:—"The design of a new key or causway from y^e Towne to y^e Molle, 100 yards whereof being almost finished and a greater part of y^e foundation stones of y^e Rest already layd. The security of y^e works on this side of y^e Towne w^h are ruinous and all ready to fall. The greate furthurance of his Ma^{ty}s service by a nearer and easier communication between y^e Citty and Molle, together with y^e encouragement of commerce to which this work much conducts, were y^e principal considerations inducing to these usefull designs." *

During the time Lord Middleton was in England, before leaving for his post, he was occupying himself with the affairs of the Garrison at the Tangiers Council.

It had been pointed out that in consequence of the death of Sir John Lawson and the Earl of Teviot, the security for the Mole contract rested on the sole survivor Sir Hugh Cholmley, and that it was therefore desirable that the first contract entered into with the three contractors should be cancelled. This was done, and in place of the old contract Sir Hugh Cholmley was made Surveyor-General of the work, under the pay of the Crown. He left England to take up his work again under the new arrangements in March, 1670, and upon his arrival in April he found the breaches in the Mole made by the storms of the past winter so serious, that a public examination of the work was ordered by His Majesty's Commissioners, resulting in a new method of protection by piles and pillars, which for the two following winters succeeded in preventing any injury.†

Lord Middleton wrote home early in the year complaining of the great scarcity of provisions, and urging that more artificers should be sent out to further the work of the Mole, "which is greatly needed for the trade of the place." He also asked for more troops, "four hundred Foot and fourscore Horse," which he requested might be sent from Scotland to "avoid the expense to England"!

It would appear that about this time some complaints had been received owing to new appointments being made to the detriment of those already serving in the Garrison, as at a meeting of the Tangiers

* Tangiers Plans, preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor.

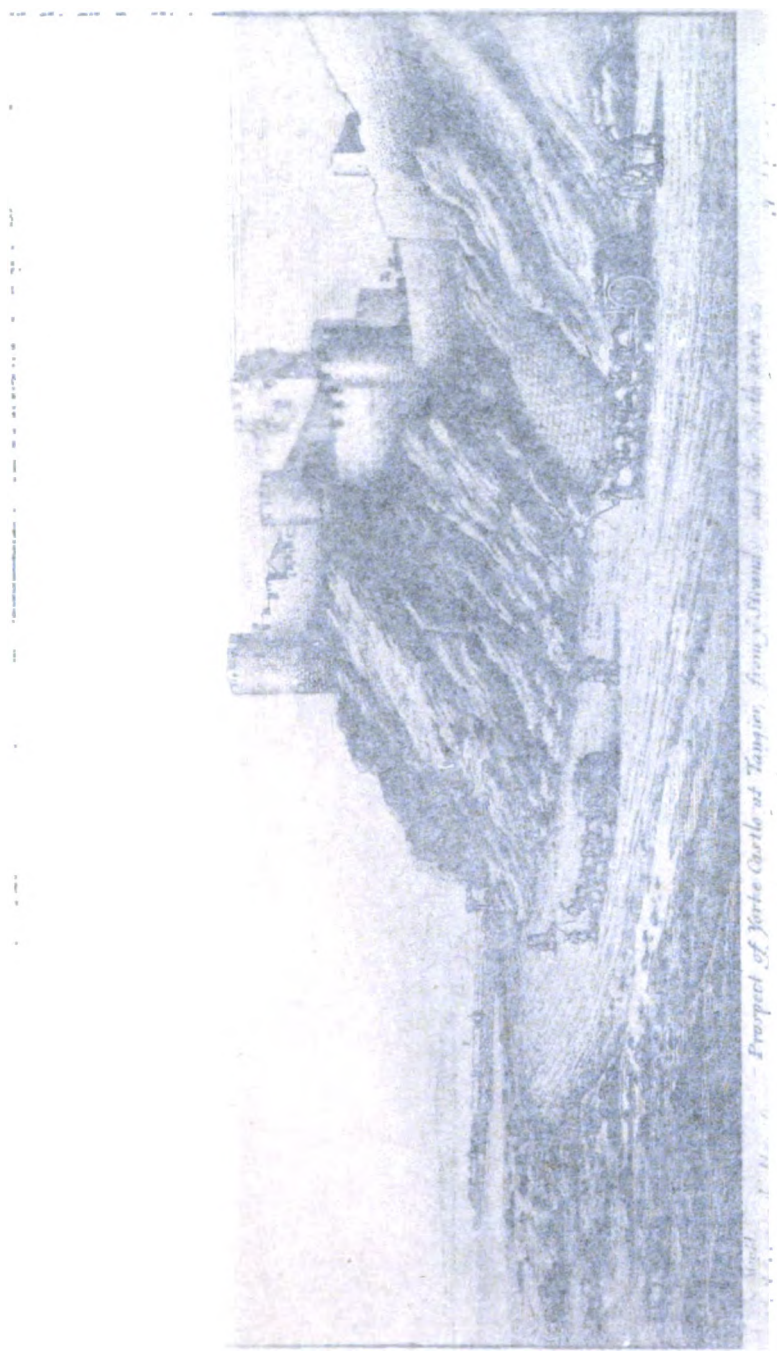
† For further details regarding the construction of the Mole, see Appendix G and Chapter VIII.

Commissioners, at Whitehall, on the 14th of May, 1670, it was ordered that, "Having found it for His Majesties service and y^e encouragement of the Garrison of Tangier to declare that the Officers appertaining to y^e Garrison should be advanced as any vacancies happening there should give opportunitie;" that no new man be appointed to the supplanting of others in the Garrison; and "that a memorial be given to each of their officers touching this matter."*

There is not much to be related of the early part of this year. The several letters and papers contain complaints against the Government for delay in sending remittances. A conspiracy had been got up against the "life, state, and command of Captain Sir John Mordaunt," but it appears to have come to nothing. A careful survey of the Mole had been ordered by the Governor, "wherein is onely exprest just matter of fact touching that affair, and to the end the truth may be the more evident in relation to the advance & progress of y^e Molle into the sea, and y^e other additional works, structures, fortifications, repaires, &c., since the last survey, made in 1669."

The Commissioners having represented to the Privy Council of the King that the Garrison ought to be kept to its full establishment, an Order in Council was made for one of the principal Secretaries of State to attend the Duke of York to consider the best method for putting the recommendations of the Commissioners into execution. The Moors were again giving trouble. A letter of Lord Middleton to Lord Arlington, dated 2nd April, after giving an account of the works at the Garrison, goes on to say that they sometimes see 100 and at others 300 mounted Moors placing their guards in all the passes. At one of the passes "they have built huts and put up tents in playne sight, and within $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile of James Fort, contrary to their former custome." He also says that they place ambuscades near the middle of Ann Lane, "but without any advantage to themselves or prejudice to us."* About the 10th of June Major Sir Palmes Fairborne being outside the town, guarding with 300 men the workmen who were mowing hay for the Garrison "within the utmost line beyond Anne Fort, the Moors arose a little within Anne Lane, and for several hours, at half-shot distance, very warmly charged our men in rank and file, falling back whilst others supplied their places (being the first time the Moors were ever observed to fight in this manner); but our men proved too hot for them, killing them that day 20 men, without losing a man, and only one wounded. About the same time Captain Belland went at noon-day with a yacht into old Tangier river, and there set fire on the

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 14, 1670.



Prospect of Yote Castle at Tanjore, from the Strand, and the North River

VIA OF VIEW TANGOR FROM THE STRAND

[illegible]

1. *Conductivity* is the ability of a material to allow the flow of electric current. It is the reciprocal of resistance.

2. *Resistance* is the opposition to the flow of electric current. It is measured in ohms (Ω).

3. *Current* is the flow of electric charge. It is measured in amperes (A).

4. *Voltage* is the potential difference between two points. It is measured in volts (V).

5. *Power* is the rate at which energy is converted. It is measured in watts (W).

6. *Energy* is the capacity to do work. It is measured in joules (J).

7. *Capacitance* is the ability of a system to store electric charge. It is measured in farads (F).

8. *Inductance* is the property of an electrical circuit that opposes a change in current. It is measured in henries (H).

9. *Frequency* is the number of cycles per second. It is measured in hertz (Hz).

10. *Wavelength* is the distance between two consecutive points in phase. It is measured in meters (m).

11. *Amplitude* is the maximum displacement from the equilibrium position. It is measured in meters (m).

12. *Period* is the time taken for one complete cycle. It is measured in seconds (s).

13. *Phase* is the position of a point in time on a wave cycle. It is measured in degrees or radians.

14. *Modulation* is the process of varying a carrier wave to carry information.

15. *Demodulation* is the process of extracting the original information from a modulated wave.

16. *Encoding* is the process of converting data into a format suitable for transmission.

17. *Decoding* is the process of converting the received data back into its original format.

18. *Encryption* is the process of converting data into a secret code.

19. *Decryption* is the process of converting the encrypted data back into its original form.

20. *Authentication* is the process of verifying the identity of a user or system.

21. *Authorization* is the process of granting or denying access to resources.

22. *Integrity* is the property of data that ensures it has not been altered.

23. *Confidentiality* is the property of data that ensures it is only accessible to authorized parties.

24. *Availability* is the property of a system that ensures it is accessible and usable.

25. *Reliability* is the property of a system that ensures it operates consistently and without failure.

26. *Scalability* is the property of a system that allows it to handle increasing amounts of data or users.

27. *Flexibility* is the property of a system that allows it to adapt to changing requirements.

28. *Portability* is the property of a system that allows it to be moved between different environments.

29. *Interoperability* is the property of a system that allows it to work with other systems.

30. *Compatibility* is the property of a system that allows it to work with different hardware or software.

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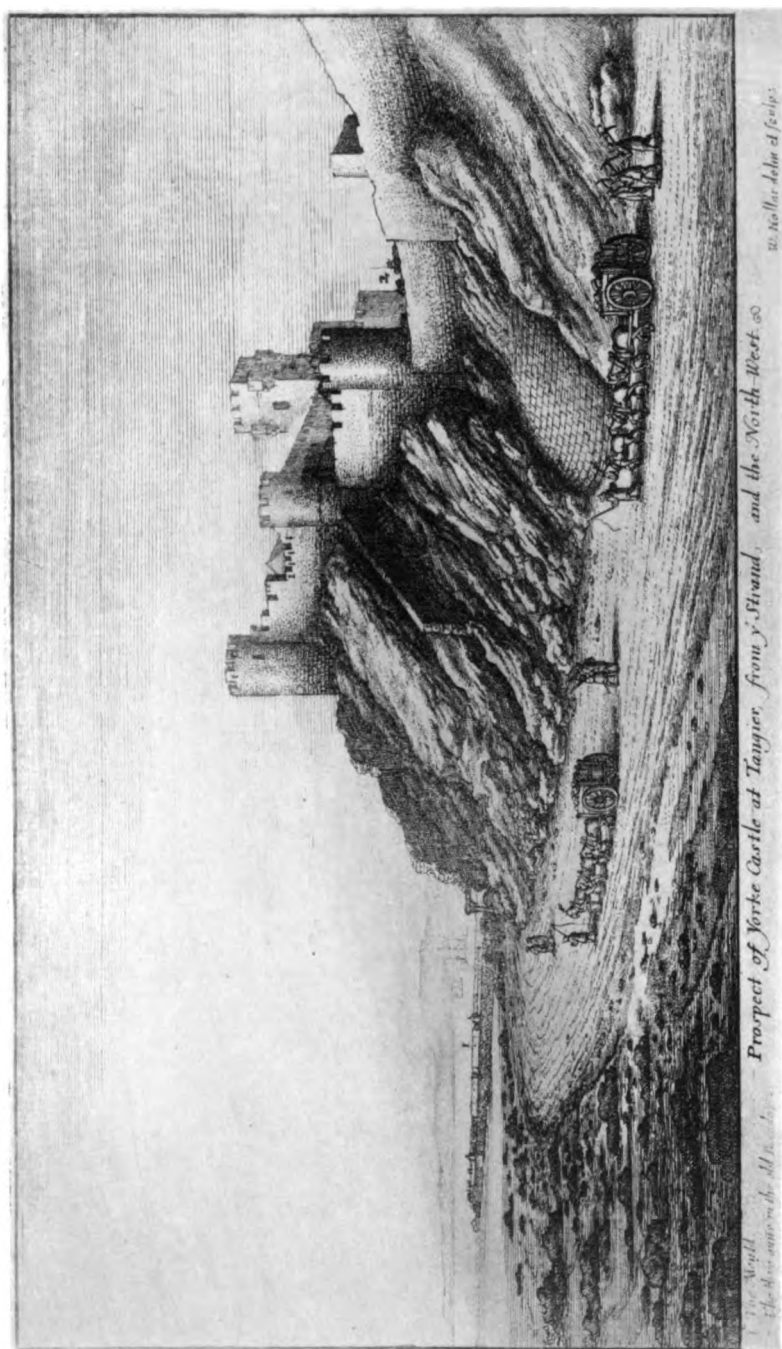
[illegible]

1. *How do you feel about the way the world is changing?*
 2. *What do you think is the most important thing we can do to help the environment?*

[illegible]

The authors are grateful to the referees for their valuable comments and suggestions. The authors also thank the Department of Science and Technology, Government of India, for the financial support.

$\lambda = 1$ and $\lambda = 2$ are the eigenvalues of A with corresponding eigenvectors $\begin{bmatrix} 1 \\ 1 \end{bmatrix}$ and $\begin{bmatrix} 1 \\ -1 \end{bmatrix}$.



VIEW OF YORK CASTLE, TANGIER. FROM THE STRAND, LOOKING NORTH-WEST.

From the Engraving by Hollar in the Royal Library at Windsor.

Moors' corn in six or seven places, and stayed by it, with 12 men, about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, two Bregantines lying in the meantime in the mouth of the river to secure this retreat."* The Governor complains in his letters of the great want of provisions, and of his having had to advance several sums of money to pay for food and supplies.

At the beginning of the year the correspondence of the Garrison commences with an account of an exchange of presents with Gayland. It would appear that this Prince, though defeated, and having to take flight, first to Tangiers and then to Algiers, still considered himself Sovereign of the part of Mauritania in which Tangiers was situated, the army of Taffiletta having, as he thought, quite conquered the country, and had departed south. Gayland paid visits to his old provinces, and, renewing his intrigues, the Garrison felt it was safe and proper to enter again into negotiations with him, as no treaty had been made with Taffiletta. The letters sent home refer to the good service rendered to the Garrison in these negotiations with Gayland by some English "rengadoes" who had taken service under the Moorish Chieftain. The treaty of peace was not confirmed and ratified till 2nd January, 1673.†

Grievous it is to read of the constant complaints now made of want of money and provisions. On the 2nd of February the Governor writes an urgent letter to the Lords Commissioners, calling attention to the soldiers' pay being sixteen months in arrears, the provisions having run out, and the works of the Mole being stopped for want of supplies.

The papers relating to the affairs of Tangiers make mention of "the new King of Marocco going to war with Taffiletta." This no doubt refers to the attempt of his nephew, Muley Meheres, whom he had made Viceroy of Morocco, to cast off the allegiance to his uncle, and to make himself King. His attempt was quickly defeated by Taffiletta, and he was captured near the mountains of Riff by the horsemen of Sallee, and brought to Morocco, where, after having been reproached by the Emperor for his treachery, his life was spared, but he was banished to Taffilet. Taffiletta (Muley Archid) was killed on the 27th of March by a fall from his horse, in the forty-first year of his age.‡

Muley Hamet and Muley Ishmael, his two brothers, at once disputed the kingdom; but the latter was (having made the journey to Fez quicker than his brother by riding on a dromedary while his brother

* *London Gazette*, 1671, dated Tangiers, July 26th.

† Tangiers State Papers, No. 16, 1672.

‡ Chenier's *Recherches Historiques Sur Les Maures*, Vol. III., p. 362.

took carriage) proclaimed Sovereign, and his brother Hamet having formed a party at Taffilet, he was proclaimed King of that part of Archid's dominions. Muley Achmet, the nephew, having gained over the Governor of Morocco, was proclaimed King of Morocco.

In April the Earl writes an urgent letter for money and recruits, and suggests that in the probable breach with Spain it would be a great disadvantage to the Garrison to be found in a "starving condition." Another letter, in the same month, follows, again pressing for pay, provisions, and recruits. He reports probable war with Spain.

A calculation on the 4th of June of provisions in store gives the following:—Biscuits to last eight weeks; beef to last twenty-one weeks; peas and oatmeal, none; butter for four weeks; cheese for one week. A memorandum says that there is nine weeks' oatmeal due to Garrison. The strength of the Garrison is given at 1,540.* A letter in July, further complaining of the want of provisions, gives the duration of the supplies as follows:—"Biscuits will last only three weeks; beef will last only sixteen weeks; peas and oatmeal, none; butter will last only two weeks; cheese, none."

Muley Ishmael, who was certainly the most capable of the successors of Muley Archid, was no sooner recognised publicly at the town of Fez, where the kings had always been crowned, than he set out to give battle against his nephew, who had been made King of Morocco. A letter of the Earl of Middleton from W. Sedgwick gives an account of the defeat of the forces of Muley Achmet (called here "Hamet"), capture of Achmet by the Emperor, and the surrender of the town.† Chenier gives the date of this fight as taking place in the spring of 1673.‡ This account gives the details of the fight, which, after certain dispositions of the different troops, took place on a vast plain close to the town of Morocco. The victory was for a time in doubt; for, though Ishmael's troops were better organised, Muley Achmet displayed so much courage that, had he not been wounded early in the day, he might have defeated the troops of his uncle. He was captured, at some distance from the fight, by the treachery of the son of a Sheik, who had given him shelter. The father, ashamed of the son's treachery, pursued the detachment of Horse that were conveying the King to his uncle, and saved the young Prince, who then fled to the mountains.

The declaration of war against Holland took place on the 17th March, and that of France against the Dutch about the same time.

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 16, 1672.

† Idem.

‡ Chenier's *Recherches Historiques sur les Maures*, Vol. III., pp. 365-7.

Before the end of May the allied Fleets met the Dutch in Southwold Bay, and a fierce fight ensued, lasting the whole day. The French took little part in it, but at the end of the day "there was little advantage on either side," though the English claim a victory. Evelyn, writing on 31st May, gives an account of his last meeting with the Earl of Sandwich, who was killed, with most of his crew, in the *Royal James*, and who seemed, when he took leave of Evelyn, to have had a foreboding of his fate. He fell fighting, like a true hero, and at the last, so hard pressed by De Ruyter, the Admiral of the Dutch Fleet, that "the stoutest of the rest seeing him engaged, and so many ships upon him, durst not or would not come to his succour, as some of them whom I know might have done."*

The Earl of Middleton writes home on the 19th July to congratulate Lord Arlington on the victory over the Dutch Fleet. Evelyn gives a high encomium on his gallant dead friend, the Earl of Sandwich, who, he says, "was of a sweet obliging temper, sober, chaste, very ingenious, a true nobleman, an ornament to the Court, and loyal to his Prince, nor has he left any behind him who approach his many virtues."†

The peace that had been concluded with Gayland had been very advantageous to the Garrison in enabling them to obtain food from the Moors; but as no money was in the Garrison, their pay being now twenty-six months in arrears, they had to exchange what they could spare of their arms and ammunition for food. Lord Middleton, writing on the 3rd March to the King, says that the peace with the Moors has been the preservation of the place, "he wanting arms and they food." The peace had been delayed being ratified by Gayland's complaints against Colonel Norwood; he, amongst other matters, accusing him of having taken from him gold, silver, jewels, and other valuables, which he would further specify when he got all his papers from Algiers. Gayland had promptly taken advantage of the death of Muley Archid and the disputes as to the succession, and had also, during his residence in Algiers, made friends there with a view of assistance from that State. He now solicited and obtained succour from them, and with the help of some of his old cavaliers was soon at the head of a considerable army. Our guns and ammunition were no

* Evelyn's Diary, pp. 367, 368, 31st May.

The King, after the battle, went down to the Nore to congratulate his brother on his safe return, and on the glorious victory of the English Fleet; and on the 17th June he took his Queen to visit his Fleet, then refitting for further duties.

† Idem.

doubt of the greatest service to him. Muley Ishmael, after the defeat of Achmet, turned his eyes towards the new danger which was rising in the North, and marched an army of twelve thousand men from Fez against Gayland, who had encamped with his troops close to Alcazar. He attacked Gayland with such impetuosity that after a short stand his troops gave way and fled. The gallant Moor fought like a lion, four horses were killed under him; but at last a ball laid him low, and Muley Ishmael cut off his head and stuck it on a lance, which was carried about by his soldiers to instil terror into the hearts of others. Thus at last perished our old enemy Gayland, who, before he disappears from our history, merits more than this passing notice. He was a man of great natural talent, undoubted courage, and had considerable powers of organisation, and also of instilling confidence in those who followed his fortunes. In one of the old papers of these times there is a very circumstantial account of his character and government. He is there called "the present usurper of the kingdom of Fez." *

It may be interesting to give here a brief account of his character as contained in the paper referred to.†

"This Gayland, since his success, hath his pedigree derived from Mahomet. His person looks handsomer than his condition; his look is fat and plain, but his nature close and reserved. He is plump, yet melancholy; valiant, yet sly; boysterous, yet of few words; careful and intemperate, contradiction in nature. . . . He hath two qualities that may do anything: 1. Perfidiousness; 2. Cruelty. When he swears most solemnly then you may be sure he lyeth; so treacherous he is, and when he fawns most basely, then you must look for mischief. . . . He hath divided the country among his followers, who must be true to him or they will not be so to themselves, the old and loyal possessors being transplanted. When he is courted to a peace he saith, it is in vain for him to think of peace until he hath made himself terrible." The same paper tersely puts his skill in diplomacy thus:—"He can neither be mistaken by his friends nor understood by his enemies. By this middle course he gaineth time to remove obstacles and ripen occasions, which to improve and follow is his peculiar talent."

Addison ‡ gives the following list of the cavilas or counties, with

* A Description of Tangiers, British Museum.

† A fuller account of Gayland's early career is given in Appendix B.

‡ *Revolutions of the Kingdom of Fez and Morocco*, by Lancelot Addison, 1671, pp. 40-42.

the number of forces which were under Gayland's government, in the year 1666:—

| | Horse. | Horse and
Foot. | Foot. |
|--|--------------|--------------------|---------------|
| Angerá | 500 | — | 500 |
| Wadròss, the nearest to Tangiers ... | 400 | — | 400 |
| Benider, ten leagues from Tangiers | 1,000 | — | 500 |
| Minkél | — | 500 | — |
| Hammihárshen | — | 1,000 | — |
| Hammziouer... .. | — | 1,000 | — |
| Alkaróbe | 750 | — | 750 |
| Beniombras | — | 1,000 | — |
| Beniharòs (this cavila, governed by
Lafin El Phut, was the one that
first betrayed Gayland, and let
Taffiletta through the passes in
mountains) | — | 1,200 | — |
| Beni Joseph | — | 3,000 | — |
| Sumátta | — | 500 | — |
| Beniworfüt | 600 | — | 600 |
| Arzilla and Sallee make one cavila | 500 | — | 500 |
| Halixérif, with Alcazar | — | 1,200 | — |
| Kitan | — | 200 | — |
| Benimadlâr | — | 200 | — |
| Beni Zâid | — | 500 | — |
| Al Coúff, between Alcazar and Ceuta | — | 200 | — |
| | <u>3,750</u> | <u>10,500</u> | <u>3,250</u> |
| Total | ... | ... | <u>17,500</u> |

These cavilas (which the author says are all, or most of them, Barabars, or Moors with fixed habitations), in addition to four cavilas which lay west of Sallee and Alcazar, but which he could never properly bring under his rule, were the total of Gayland's dominions, "beyond which he could never make any enlargements." Another writer gives his forces as "2,700 Horse, 2,000 Harquibuziers, and 6,000 Royal Squadron of Gentlemen, being all of noble parentage and of great account." These latter are said to be mounted upon excellent horses, "with furniture and arms; for variety of colours most beautiful, and for riches of armament beyond measure estimable; for everything about them shineth with gold, silver, pearls, jewels, and whatsoever else may please the eye." His forces, says the same writer, include the retainers of his nobles which he can call upon. Also the Arabians who live in tents; but the writer quaintly remarks with respect to these latter troops, that "they are rather to be accounted theaves than true

soldiers." * He had also a kind of Militia, but he only made use of these latter in the wars against Christians, for fear of insurrections.

There is little to relate of the affairs of Tangiers, for 1674. The Moors seem to have been so much occupied with the disputes amongst themselves that they did not trouble the Garrison, and it would appear from the correspondence that Muley Ishmael had made a sort of truce with them, particulars of which, however, cannot be found. About the middle of the year the Lords Commissioners wrote to the Mayor and Corporation complaining that they had not sent, as requested, an account of affairs in Tangiers, and requiring them to send a special account of "every source of revenue in Tangiers since the beginning, and for the future a monthly account of all transactions."

An Order in Council in June directed that all promotions at Tangiers were to be made by seniority, and that no new men were to be appointed in their place.

His Majesty King Charles wrote to the "King of South Barbary" a letter asking an explanation for his having captured an English ship, the *Amity*, and making all on board prisoners. He demands their release, and compensation to the owners of the value of the ship, which His Majesty puts at 7,000 pieces of eight.

On the 25th January, 1675, Lord Middleton died at Tangiers, and was succeeded in the command of the Garrison by the Earl of Inchiquin, whose appointment was dated the 5th of March, the same year.† The same month a paper was issued giving particulars of "an Establishment for Tangier,"‡ as follows:—

| AN ESTABLISHMENT FOR TANGERE, 9TH MARCH, 1674-5.§ | | Per Annum. |
|---|-------------------|---|
| | | £ s. d. |
| Pay to the Garrison. | Without Victuals. | The Governor 1,500 00 00 |
| | | The Deputy-Governor 300 00 00 |
| | | The Manister, at 10 ^s p ^r diem 182 10 00 |
| | | The Phisitian, at 15 ^s p ^r diem 273 15 00 |
| | | The Towne Major, at 10 ^s p ^r diem, without any manner of perquisites or other advantages ... 182 10 00 |
| | | Judge Advocate, at 8 ^s p ^r diem 146 00 00 |
| | | A Chirurgeon, at 4 ^s p ^r diem 73 00 00 |
| | | Chirurgeon's Mate, at 2 ^s 6 ^d p ^r diem 45 12 00 |
| | | Quart ^r Mast ^r Proverst Marshall & Serv ^{ts} , at 5 ^s p ^r diem 91 05 00 |
| | | Commissary of the Musters, at 6 ^s p ^r diem ... 109 10 00 |
| | | Storekeeper for y ^e Garrison, at 3 ^s 4 ^d p ^r diem ... 60 16 00 |

* Description of Tangiers, British Museum.

† In the Patent Roll the date is given as 4th March.

‡ Dartmouth MSS., 1683-1684, Petitions and Miscellaneous.

§ As will be seen, this paper gives particulars not only of the numbers of the troops, but also of the amount charged in the accounts for their sustenance. The

| | | Per Annum. | | |
|--|--------------------|--|--------|-------|
| | | £ | s. | d. |
| Pay to the Garrison. | Without Victualls. | These to depend on the Ma ^r of th' Ordnce. | | |
| | | Engineer, at 6 ^s p ^r diem | 109 | 10 00 |
| | | Storekeep ^r of y ^e Amunicon. & for Stores for himself & Assistances, at 6 ^s 8 ^d p ^r diem | 121 | 13 04 |
| | | A Mr Carpenter | 54 | 12 00 |
| | | A Fire M ^r , at 5 p ^r diem | 91 | 05 00 |
| | | A Mast ^r Gunner, at 3 ^s p ^r diem | 54 | 15 00 |
| | | A Gunsmith, at 2 ^s 6 ^d p ^r diem | 45 | 12 06 |
| | | 1 Collonell, at 12 ^s p ^r diem | 219 | 00 00 |
| | | 1 Lieut ^t Collonell, at 7 ^s p ^r diem | 127 | 15 00 |
| | | 1 Major, at 5 ^s p ^r diem | 91 | 05 00 |
| | | 12 Captaines, at 8 ^s p ^r diem each | 1,752 | 00 00 |
| | | 12 Lieuten ^{ts} , at 4 ^s p ^r diem each | 876 | 00 00 |
| | | 12 Ensignes, at 3 ^s p ^r diem each | 657 | 00 00 |
| | | 1 Officer of Hors: having Lieut ^{ts} Pay at 6 ^s p ^r diem | 109 | 10 00 |
| | | 36 Sergeants, at 1 ^s p ^r diem each | 657 | 00 00 |
| | | 36 Corporalls, at 6 ^d p ^r diem each | 328 | 10 00 |
| | | 24 Drums, at 6 ^d p ^r diem each | 219 | 00 00 |
| | | 1,440 Foot, at 3 ^d p ^r diem each | 6,570 | 00 00 |
| | | An addicon of 3 ^d p ^r diem to one Sold ^r in each Comp ^a supplying y ^e place of Gent of Armes | 54 | 15 00 |
| | | 30 Horse, at 2 ^s 6 ^d p ^r diem each | 1,095 | 00 00 |
| | | 1 Corporall, at 2 ^s 6 ^d p ^r diem | 45 | 12 06 |
| | | 1 Trumpett, at 2 ^s 2 ^d p ^r diem | 39 | 10 10 |
| | | 1 Farrier, at 2 ^s p ^r diem | 36 | 10 00 |
| | | 16 Gunn ^{rs} to depend vpon y ^e Ma ^r of th' Ordnce., at 12 ^d p ^r diem | 292 | 00 00 |
| | | The Soldiers to maintaine their owne armes unless spoiled by fire or service. | | |
| | | For y ^e Hospitall, besides y ^e value of y ^e Soldiers' victualls when sick, added to y ^e Hospitall towards maintenance... .. | 547 | 10 00 |
| | | For Cole and Candle | 474 | 00 00 |
| | | For Boatmen, Boates, Intelligence, Messages, Presents, and other Contingencies at Tangier ... | 400 | 00 00 |
| | | For fortificacons yearely to be vnder y ^e inspection of the Mast ^r of the Ordnance, and y ^e Acc ^{ts} thereof to be sent thither, as well as to y ^e L ^{ds} Com ^{rs} for Tang ^r | 2,000 | 00 00 |
| Further allowances to the Garrison, of wch exact acc ^t to be returned every 6 montha. | | Total thus farr being £20,034 4 ^s 10 ^d by paying 4 ^s 9 ^d with every 4 ^s 6 ^d will be defrayed by | 18,979 | 16 02 |

Garrison at this time consisting only of the Governor's Regiment, formerly two Battalions or Regiments of 12 Companies of 120 men each, such Company having 3 buglers and 2 drummers. There were beside 30 horse, 3 farriers, and 16 gunners. The cost of victualls being charged at the rate of 3s. 2½d. per week. The high rate of the Captain's pay as compared with the others was no doubt intended to include some Company charges.

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|--|--|--|--|--------------|--|
| Victualls. | { | To ye Victualler for victualling 1,585 men at 3 ^s 2½ ^d | | | | Per Annum. | |
| | | p ^r weeke each, viz., Foot 1,440 | | | | £ s. d. | |
| | | Sergeants 36 | | | | | |
| | | Corporalls 36 | | | | | |
| | | Horse... .. 30 | | | | 13,171 15 00 | |
| | | Drumms 24 | | | | | |
| | | A Corporall, Trumpett,
& Farrier 3 | | | | | |
| | | Gunnners 16 | | | | | |
| Mole. | | Yearely Imprest for the Mole | | | | 19,500 00 00 | |
| Stores. | { | For all manner of Stores to be sent to Tangier from | | | | | |
| | | the Office of the Ordnance | | | | 3,000 00 00 | |
| Pencons. | { | To ye Earle of Peterburrrough | | | | 1,000 00 00 | |
| | | To Mr Thomas Leman | | | | 500 00 00 | |
| Sallaries. | { | To the Treasurer. | | | | 300 00 00 | |
| | | To ye Secretary | | | | 200 00 00 | |
| | | To a Messenger | | | | 30 00 00 | |
| | | Contingencies here | | | | 461 04 10 | |
| | | Excheq ^r Fees for ye Summe of £57,200 at | | | | | |
| | | ye rat of 20 ^s p ^r x ^o | | | | 57 04 00 | |
| | | Summe is | | | | 57,200 00 00 | |

Endorsed

9th March, 1674-5,
Establishment for Tangier,
D. 3, 1424.

The attention of the Garrison was mainly given to the progress of the Mole and the fortifications and outworks. Numerous drawings and designs of it were sent home, and it was reported to be completed up to 433 yards. A vessel which had been captured was sunk at about 480 yards from the beginning of the Mole, to form a kind of large chest to aid in the works.

In this year an Ambassador was sent by the King of England to the Court of Muley Ishmael, to attempt to make a durable peace, and took as a present some Moors who had been seized on some of the numerous piratical ships captured. Muley Ishmael received the English Ambassador with apparent satisfaction, and told him that he would be able to return very well pleased with his journey; but when he was pressed to conclude a peace, he had one of the Saints or Marabouts brought in, who pretended that the "Prophet Mahomet had appeared to him the night before, saying that the King would vanquish all his enemies, provided he did not make peace with the English." Upon which the English Ambassador was dismissed by the King, who said he could not make peace with the English, or he would run the danger of being deserted by

his Prophet.* This was no doubt a ruse to get out of the promise he had made to the English that he would make peace with them. It was not long before Muley Ishmael began to disturb the Garrison. There seems to have been some mismanagement in an action that took place about the end of the year, which Lord Inchiquin in a letter to the King explains was caused by allowing the "forlorne" to advance too far without support from the main body under Sir Palmes Fairborne," and also allowing Captain Boynton's party to be withdrawn from Ann Lane. A skirmish took place on the 30th December. The Moors had crept up and lay in ambush near all the Forts; thirty of them got between the lines and the walls, and killed one soldier, but the attack was repulsed by the men in the Forts, who were well armed and well prepared. After retiring from in front of the Forts the strength of their force in cavalry was shown by 5,000 appearing for two or three hours on a hill about a mile and a half from the line of Forts. The plan of the attack seemed to have been against Whitby. Their Chief, Boulif, "the great disturber of this place," was killed, and the Governor of Alcazar had his hand shot off.†

The Governor received the King's permission to come to England, and about the month of April he left Tangiers. On the 15th of May Colonel Alsop issued a Proclamation, on his departure, saying, that, during the absence of the Earl of Inchiquin in England, he and Sir Palmes Fairborne were appointed joint Governors, but that, owing to his serious indisposition, he deputed the sole command to the latter officer. Sir P. Fairborne, who seems to have been a most capable man, writes home giving in much detail the regulations he had made for the better security of the place. The first thing done

* Chenier's *Recherches Historiques sur les Maures*, Vol. III., p. 372.

† In Samuel Pepys' accounts (Audit Office Declared Accounts, Bundle 310, Roll 1,224, December 31st, 1676, to December 31st, 1677) there appears a number of entries of pay to the Garrison, and accounts of expenses of clothing, &c., between 1676 and 1677. Sir Palmes Fairborne receives six months' pay as Captain £69 3s., and for his pay as Major of the Regiment (date of commission as Major, 6th March, 1675), from 6th March, 1675, to 31st same month, £6 3s.; also allowance as Deputy-Governor at the rate of £300 per annum. Frederick Backer, Storekeeper, receives a year and three quarters' pay, amounting to £100 9s. 8d. Captain Francis Trelawney, a year and a-half's pay, £138 0s. 4½d. Captain Marmaduke Boynton and Alex. Making, a year and a-half's pay as Captains of Foot, £153 8s. 4d.

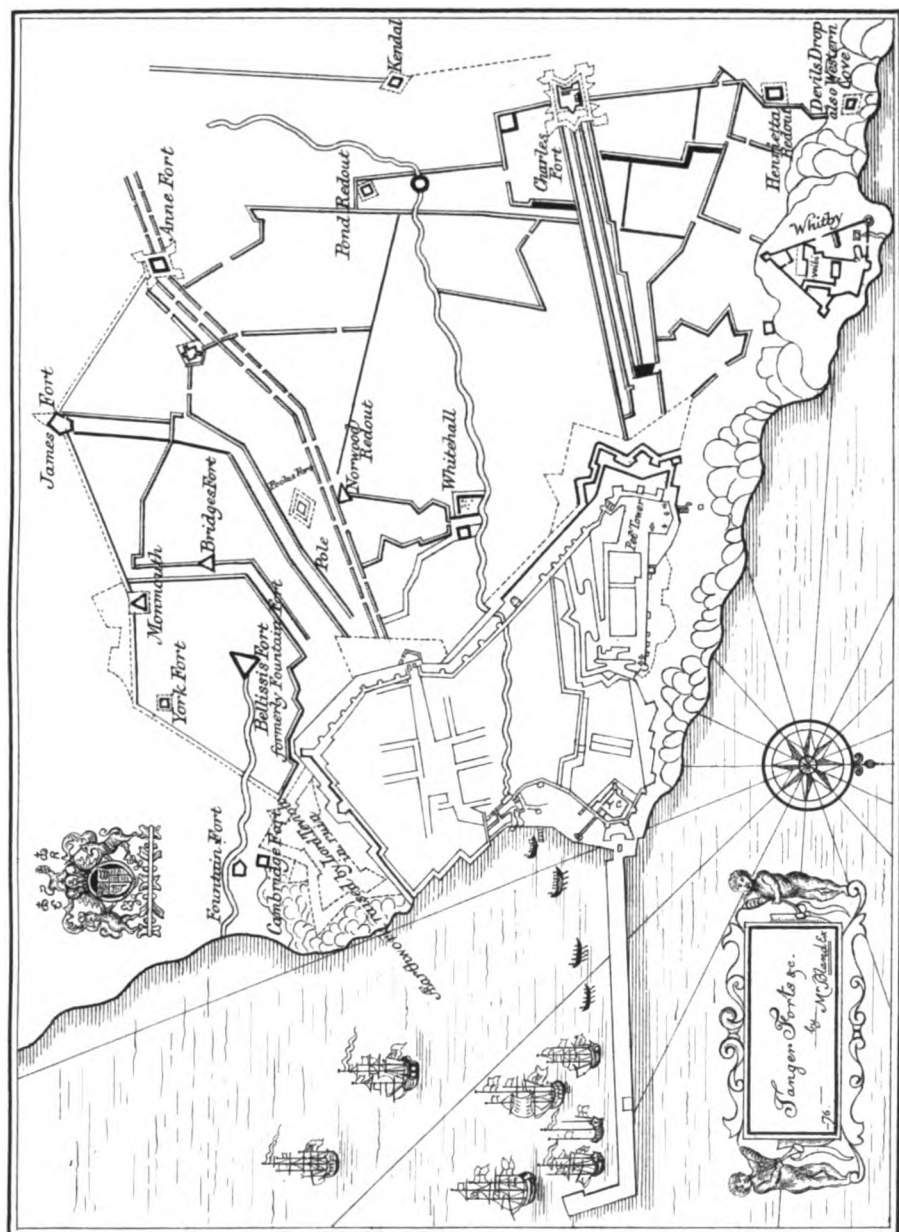
In the beginning of this year (1675) a Gunner had been appointed for Tangiers; his appointment is dated 7th February, 1675. It is curious, as it shows on his appointment the names of the Commissioners, amongst which was that of H. Norwood, no doubt the late Deputy-Governor.

was to place every company of foot in its proper post, and the citizens in theirs, in case of an alarm, a precaution that had been omitted since the beginning of Colonel Norwood's time. The next thing was to relieve the guard at seven o'clock in the morning instead of in the afternoon; by this means the soldiers had not the opportunity—which they seemed to have rather freely indulged in—of getting drunk before parade, and which he rightly calls “a shame to the parade and a reproach to the spectators.” As the men on duty in the lines frequently got wounded by a random shot from the Moors in ambush, he raised the height of the earthworks so as to better cover them, and placed a palisade in front of the main guard. As there was not a sixpence in the Garrison for the necessary repairs to the place he advanced some of his own money; but he prays for speedy supplies of provisions and pay, and sends a calculation of the stores required.

He directed twenty-four dismounted guns to be mounted on vacant places on the walls. The despatch in which these matters are noted is dated the 19th of May, and on the following day he writes that he has mounted nearly all the great guns mentioned in his former despatch, finished the line between James and Monmouth Forts, made a handsome foot bank within, with a parapet four feet high, and hopes soon to do the same between James and Ann Forts. All this work was done at no charge, “except a little brandy to encourage the men,” whom he recommends to the notice of the Lords Commissioners, as it was highly creditable to them under such trying circumstances, having neither provisions or pay. He prays for the completion of the Establishment, which is 324 short; hopes that at least 350 may be sent, as the soldier “is at third night's duty and three hours sentry, and sometimes are forced to double (duty).” He also built a guard-house by Catherine Fort for a guard of twelve men and a sergeant. The discipline of the men seems at last to have given way, as in June he writes of a mutiny having nearly broken out on account of want of pay and provisions, and the hardness of the duty through want of recruits. The pay was two and a quarter years' in arrears!

A disturbance took place in May at a parade he had ordered in the market place, at five o'clock, for work. The men cried out, “Home, home;” he commanded silence; and, on his asking the cause of the disturbance, he was told that it was from want of provisions and money and the extra work which the Deputy-Governor had been giving them. He vows he has no other aim than for the King's faithful service, “and for which I would hazard ten thousand lives if I had them.” He finishes by saying that he had been obliged





Stanford's Geog. Estate - London

PLAN SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE FORTS AT TANGIERS 1676.
(from the original drawing in the Royal Library at Windsor)

to put a stop to the works for want of money and provisions. A plot to mutiny was discovered by an Egyptian servant; upon the information being given a district court-martial was convened and five soldiers were condemned to be shot: five to be hanged under the gallows, and two others to ride the wooden horse. The Governor (Sir P. Fairborne) changed all the guards and ordered a parade of the remainder, and had two out to the front and shot. The remainder, awed by the severity of the punishment, promised obedience if pay and provisions were to arrive, but said they could not remain passive if they were still kept without both.

In July Sir John Narborough arrived at Tangiers, and Sir Palmes Fairborne endeavoured to persuade him to take his ships to Sallee to try and arrange terms of peace with that Garrison. Sir John declined to go; the Deputy-Governor then appointed as Commissioners for that purpose Mr. Bland and Captain Leslie; and, according to the correspondence, peace was ratified in August between "His Majesty of Great Britain and Abunazar Muley Ishmael, Emperor of the Kingdoms of Fez, Morocco, Taffiletta, Suz, and of all Algeria and its towns."

In October a report was sent home by Sir Palmes Fairborne of the state of the military force at Tangiers, but it contained only general notices, and did not give any numbers or names of officers; but he reports that on the muster he had found forty-two less than at a previous muster he took on the 3rd of June. During the remainder of the year constant appeals were made to the authorities at home for the arrears of pay, stating the immense difficulties experienced both with the works of the Mole and the Garrison, owing to these claims remaining unsettled. They were also reminded of the urgent want of recruits, "four hundred being now required to complete the garrison and render the duty less heavy to the old soldiers." On the 21st of November Sir Palmes Fairborne informs Mr. Williamson of the death of the old veteran, Colonel Allsop, which left him in sole command of the Garrison. In this month a little relief was afforded by the arrival of recruits both of horse and foot, which he says, "will give some satisfaction to the cittyzens as to the souldiers." He also sends his humble thanks for £200 for defraying his own expenses, and of £150 for contingencies.

A letter was received from the Governor of Alcazar in December, offering to open negotiations for a peace by land with the Garrison of Tangiers, but it does not appear to have been ratified. On the 30th of the same month, Mr. Bland, Comptroller of His Majesty's Revenue, sent an abstract of the state of the Garrison from a survey made by him, which contained some most interesting particulars.

TANGERS, 1676.

AN ABSTRACT of the state of the City and Garrison of Tanger in a survey taken thereof y^e 30th December, 1676. By John Bland, Comptroler of His Maties Revenues, and carried for England to the R^t Hon^{ble} the Lords Comrs to be certified unto His Sacred Maty. In which is the Number of House Keepers, Cittizens, Molemen, and Army. The Wives, Servants, Slaves, Children, Strangers, Priests, and w^t of all sex. The Lands without the Castles and Fortes, Houses, Quarters, Inheritances, and Leases, the Number of each, in whose possession, wth y^e Total Acco^t of Inhabit^{ts}, Arms, Cittizens, Molemen, and Strangers.*

| The House-keepers. | Their Wives. | Their Children. | Their Servants. | Their Slaves. | The Churchmen. | The Strangers. |
|--------------------|--------------|----------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| Citizens 129 | Citizens 62 | M. F. Citizens 68 63 | M. F. City 37 25 | M. F. City 6 11 | Priests and Fryers 18 | Dutch 4 |
| Molemen 28 | Molemen 26 | Moles 18 20 | Mole 4 4 | Mole | Minist ^{rs} 2 | French 45 |
| Army 40 | Army 129 | Army 98 75 | Army 2 7 | Army | | Portg ^z 8 |
| | | Is 184 158 | Is 48 86 | Is 6 11 | | Itallions 17 |
| | | | | | | Jewes 51 |
| | | | | | | Moore 5 |
| Is 197 | Is 217 | In all 342 | In all 79 | In all 17 | In all 20 | In all 180 |

| The Army. | The Inhabitants. | Castles and Forts. | The Ordnance. | Buildings in y ^e City. | Whereof | The Possession of the whole City into whose hands divided. |
|---------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|--|
| Non-Commissio Officers 96 | Citizens 457 | Within | Brass 80 | Houses, | The The | In His Maj ^{ty} 5 |
| Private Sold ^{rs} 1085 | Mole 156 | the Walls 2 | Iron 120 | Sheds, | Inheri- Leases | In ye Officers 50 |
| Troopers 84 | Army 1691 | Without | Unmo ^{td} 20 | Quart ^{rs} | ances are | In ye Towns- men 32 |
| Gunners 16 | | the Walls 15 | | and | are | |
| Trainee 16 | | | | Churches | | |
| | | | | and | | |
| | | | | Stores | | |
| | | | | are | | |
| In all 1247 | In all 2225† | Is 17 | Is 170 | Viz.: 429 | 85 231 | In all 87 |

The land without the Walls contains about acres 800.

† This number is in the original, but it ought to be 2,204.

* From the above it will be seen that the number of private soldiers in the column marked "Army" is 1,085 with 96 non-commissioned Officers, 34 Troopers, 16 Gunners and 16 Train, and in the column marked "Inhabitants" we find out of 2,225 Inhabitants, 1,591 are said to be "Army." These are no doubt the men who, called Militia, follow their ordinary avocations, and only took up arms when required by stress of duty in the Regular Troops. The land without the walls is given as 300 acres, and the total of buildings in the City as 429, 85 being "Inheritance," and 231 leases.

In the early part of February a small ship arrived with forty-two tons of provisions, which were urgently needed, as in January the Garrison had been so badly off for bread that Sir Palmes Fairborne had to send to Spain for some. The Deputy-Governor had been greatly vexed at insinuations made as to his conduct in making peace with Sallee, which peace, however, seems to have come to nothing. A treaty was also made with Alcazar, Captain Leslie and Sir Robert Cuthbert being sent there with proposals, which, according to advices sent home on the 10th of May, appeared to have been advantageous to the Garrison. Our Officers were received with great courtesy by the Moors, and were well treated. There was much discontent amongst the Garrison about this time, owing to their pay being nearly two and half years in arrear. Later on in the year considerable trouble seems to have been given by the soldiers selling their clothes to the inhabitants. It must have been weary work governing under the conditions which are detailed in the correspondence, and it says volumes for the patriotism and self-denial of the Governors and their Officers, that they could still hold the Garrison in spite of discontent within and foes without. The storms in winter had somewhat damaged the Mole, but they continued their work upon it. An instance of the difficulties in dealing with the Moors is well illustrated by an occurrence to Sir Palmes Fairborne on the 10th June, who seeing, about four o'clock in the afternoon, a flag of truce flying at Ann Fort, went there and found a messenger with a letter from the Governor of Alcazar, no doubt with reference to the terms of the new treaty. After receiving the letter, he dismissed "the Captain of the Field" (the Moorish Commander with the flag of truce), and with twenty Troopers went into the fields to go from the end of Ann's Lane to Kendall Fort, when he came upon an ambuscade of the Moors, who had, it appeared afterwards, lain there all day. The plucky little band of twenty men, led by the Deputy-Governor, fell upon the Moors and quickly put them to flight, killing two of them, without loss to the Governor's escort. The "Captain of the Field" came again the next day with a flag of truce, when the Deputy-Governor complained to him of the treachery of his countrymen, but was told that he had sent those who had escaped from the assault of the English as prisoners to the King for punishment.

In June came a letter of friendly greeting from the Governor of Alcazar with the news that the Emperor Ishmael had at last got possession of Morocco and that Muley Achmet had fled. The Garrison seemed to fear from this news that hard and dangerous times were coming for them, as the Emperor "will now be better able to maintain

a considerable force about them." * The victory of the Emperor had not been obtained without the usual Moorish treachery. He had for some time partly blockaded the town, even after the King, his nephew, had given him battle outside, and defeated him; for the young King after his victory had so given himself up to pleasure, that his wily uncle was able to get together his defeated troops, and in the subsequent battle he so badly routed his nephew that he drove him into the town and at once laid siege to it. Muley Haran, King of Taffilet, brother of Ishmael, and uncle of Achmet, at this time, seeing with regret these two tearing each other to pieces and desolating the country with their wars, came to Morocco, and first visited the camp of Ishmael where he was well received. After having obtained the promise of his brother that he would enter into relations with Achmet, he went into the town with Ishmael, met the King of Morocco, and at last succeeded in arranging terms with the two rivals. The terms were that Achmet should retire, with the title of King, to Daru (or Drah), and was to be allowed to take with him all his troops with their arms and baggage, and the Emperor also promising that he would pardon the town of Morocco for the part the people had taken in the war. Muley Achmet, who had been reduced to the direst straits by the blockade, at once accepted the terms, but without consulting the inhabitants, and retired in the night with his soldiers, under the pretence of a secret expedition. Muley Ishmael entering the next day, and finding from the state of the town that they could not have held out more than eight days, as in that time their stores would have been exhausted, was so enraged, that he at once arrested his brother, the King of Taffilet, and sent off a large detachment of troops to take possession of his kingdom, and gave the town up to his soldiers for pillage and massacre. He had, while laying siege to the town, lied, robbed, and plundered the principal chiefs, and had got large sums of money from them by fraud and treachery, afterwards executing them; and it is wonderful how he could with such a reputation be able to hold his generals and troops together. In one of the Deputy Governor's letters, he says that, on the entry of the Emperor into Morocco, he beheaded ten of the principal inhabitants, put out the eyes of forty, and put forty more in chains, and laid a tax on the city of one hundred quintals of gold. This is the man who so nearly took possession of Tangiers afterwards, in 1680; the fights round the town at that time being the most exciting and dangerous that the Garrison had ever gone through.†

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 28, 1677.

† Idem.

A considerable amount of correspondence took place in June between the Deputy-Governor and the Mayor of the town, on the subject of the soldiers selling their clothes to the inhabitants. The Mayor issued a proclamation prohibiting them from buying the soldiers' clothes under heavy penalties. The plague seems also at this time to have given rise to a great deal of apprehension in the Garrison. It was rapidly spreading, and was reported to have been very bad in Oran and Tetuan.

CHAPTER VII.

STATE OF THE TOWN AND GARRISON UNDER SIR PALMES
FAIRBORNE.

FROM 1677 TO 1679.

CONTENTS.—Charles's Chest—Fears of the Plague—Extraordinary Punishments—Attempt to surprise Garrison—Arrival of Provisions—Old men and women sent as recruits—Jews given three months' notice to quit—Sallee and Alcazar—Capture of Turkish Man-of-War—English Ships taken by Pirates—Deaths from Scurvy—Constitution of Tangiers Militia—Progress of the Mole—Mutiny—Struggle with Deputy-Governor—Execution of Ringleaders—Night attack by Moors—Forts taken—Use of Stink-pots—Moorish Preparations—The Forts repaired—Numbers employed on Mole—Ravages of the Plague—Arrival of Lord Inchiquin—Retirement of Sir P. Fairborne—Survey of Tangiers—Census Returns—Desperate attack by Moors—Gallant defence of Forts by the Garrison—King Charles and the Parliament.

THE apprehensions of a war with France—consequent upon the House of Commons urging the King to declare it, though oddly enough they at the same time refused the supplies—gave some uneasiness to the Deputy-Governor, who wrote to Mr. Williamson urging the great necessity of the Garrison being well supplied in case of a war. He also stated that King Louis had made overtures of peace to Muley Achmet, which in his opinion meant future designs upon Tangiers; but it is curious that in the same letter he refers to Achmet's capitulation and the absolute power of Ishmael.

There were great rejoicings in Tangiers at this time over the success in sinking the great chest called "Charles's Chest" at the Mole. This chest weighed over 2,000 tons, and "in a few days more one of 600 tons, and one of 1,000 tons will be ready for sinking, and three chests more almost ready to complete the work."

In July fears were expressed that the plague was upon them; a man of Captain Trelawney's troop having died on the 4th of spotted fever. An urgent demand was sent for recruits as in case the "plague comes many will be swept away."

[illegible][illegible]

It is not my place to say anything more than I have said.

[Illegible handwritten text]

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them. The list includes names such as "J. M. Smith", "W. J. Brown", and "A. C. Jones", among others.

20. 11. 1907. 18. 11. 1907. 18. 11. 1907.

to the "Catholic" and "Protestant" churches.

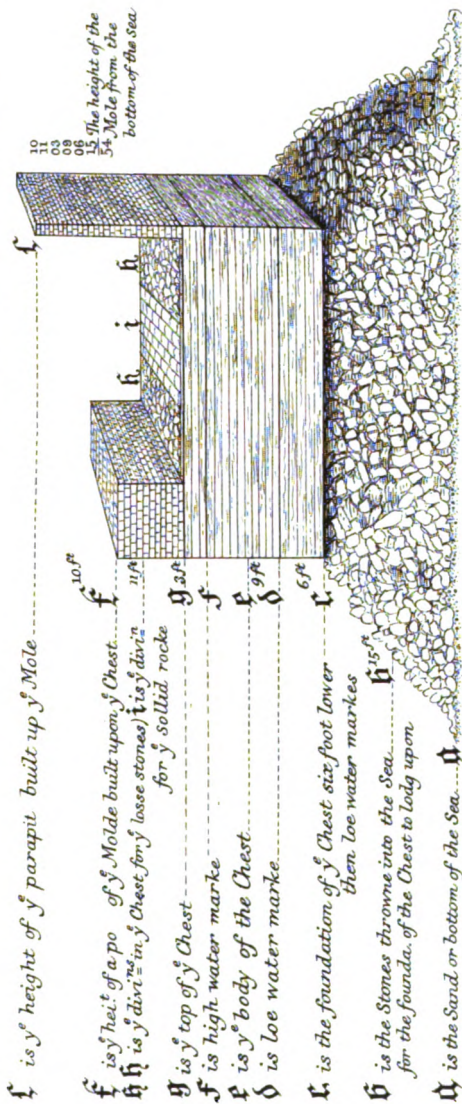
1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 25

upon the sea.

11

(from the original drawing in the Royal Library at Windsor)

His Maj^{ties} great Chest which contains Sollid of Stone
and Tarris 21,600, cubical feet now Sunk at Tangers
Roade in the Sea — by M. Shere —



THE GREAT CHEST CONSTRUCTED FOR THE MOLE BY MR SHERE 1677.
(from the original drawing in the Royal Library at Windsor)

On the 17th of July the Moors laid another ambushade between Whitby and the fort called the "Drope upon the Rocks."* Three of our men were killed, but the Moors escaped without leaving any men behind. They were in force, having about 500 horse and as many foot, though "only 40 got between the Fort and Whitby." Sir Palmes Fairborne intended to have gone out to intercept their foot as they were driven back ; but it was fortunate he did not, for he would have most certainly fallen into their ambushade of horse in a place on Teviot's Hill called Blaney's Bottom, and would doubtless have been cut off and killed. He, writing about it, quaintly says "I thank God my good genius withheld me, mistrusting some such thing by the boldness of the attempt." The Moors appear to have been in force and encamped on the hills round Tangiers, between the Forts, but they were beaten off by the garrison.†

A curious instance of insubordination occurred on the 31st of July. Captain Carr, being senior officer on parade, took command of the regiment. When he ordered the drums to beat his own drummer was not nearly so ready as he ought to have been, so Captain Carr struck him. The man at once put his hand to his sword, but he thought better of it and did not draw. Captain Carr allowed him to go on with his duty, but the Governor on hearing of it at once ordered the man under arrest, and severely censured Captain Carr for not at once taking action in the matter. The drummer it was expected would be sentenced to be shot, in company with a sentry who was caught asleep on his post ; instead of which they were sentenced "to stand on tiptoes under the gallows with the rope round their necks ;" rather an ingenious torture, as the rope was tightened so that they had to keep that position to prevent their being strangled. Ensign Hughes was sentenced for the crime of drunkenness, and apologized for his conduct at the head of the regiment ; but the Deputy-Governor considered this sentence inadequate, and that it would not in any way prevent drunkenness in the regiment.

Several futile attempts of the Moors were made during the month of August to surprise the Garrison : a new wooden fort that had been erected had also given them greater security. Reports of supplies of men and money being sent out this month gave great joy to the Garrison ; the relief promised being one year's pay and 300 recruits. The Deputy-Governor writes to the Lords Commissioners praying

* Devil's Drop, under Henrietta Fort.

† They tried another ambushade between James and Monmouth Forts, tempting the garrison out by taking down the palisades in the lines.

them to settle with his wife who is in England as she "will require the money to support her." On the 10th and 16th the Moors entrenched themselves between Monmouth and Henry Forts, again without success, and with no loss to the troops. The reason of the extra number of the Moors about the town was supposed to be because they had fled from the towns while the plague was raging.

A letter of the Deputy-Governor on the 22nd August announces the arrival of a vessel with provisions for the Garrison and for the navy; but he considers the supply very scanty and requests more to be sent to provide for the winter time.*

On the 31st of August ships arrived with 209 recruits, 96 from the ship commanded by Sir John Narborough, 96 from the ship of Sir John Erling, and 29 from Captain Wood; but alas! the report of the Deputy-Governor makes them out as "very sad creatures, some old men and two of them women in men's clothes." Fifteen months' pay had also arrived, but the Garrison even with this was still twenty-one months in arrears. "The officers being greatly concerned that the arrears are not to be paid according to the muster rolls." Instructions had also apparently arrived with respect to the treaties with Sallee and Alcazar, and the Governor reports that now he has that arranged he will banish the Jews, but will give them three months to settle their affairs. Orders had been received to send home Captain Carr, who had been giving so much trouble.

More provisions were urgently required, as Sir John Narborough and the fleet wanted victualling for six weeks, which sadly reduced the stores.

In September Sir Palmes Fairborne hears rumours that Sallee intends to "break with us," and that they were fitting a ship of 16 guns and two of 12 guns, "so we shall ere long discover their intentions." He at once sent word to the Governors of Sallee and Alcazar that in case of anything occurring before the time (referring no doubt to the duration of the treaty) "we shall never build any surety of any further treaty with them (the Moors) by sea or land."

In October the frigates *Newcastle* and *Portsmouth* arrived with 34 more recruits, and on acknowledging their arrival the Deputy-Governor says "both the Garrison and the fleet are badly off for provisions, neither beef nor cheese, and only one week's butter." A severe sea-fight took place in sight of the Garrison and under the walls of Tangiers with a Turkish man-of-war of 38 guns which had been chased into the Bay by one of our frigates, the *Portsmouth*. The Englishman captured

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 24

the Turk, but with the loss of the gallant commander, Captain Canning, "a man of great worth and valour," and his Lieutenant, with thirty seamen killed and forty wounded. We can imagine the picture. The garrison crowding the walls of the forts and town. The Moors on the hills, and two ships banging away with their guns. Across the water to the excited spectators would come the hoarse shouts of the men engaged in deadly combat, and then the final scene, the towing in of the defeated Turk by the battered English frigate, the landing of the captured crew, and the melancholy procession of the dead and wounded officers of the victorious vessel.

The Turkish man-of-war was commanded by a renegade German, who, expecting no quarter, fought desperately. After the capture of the ship a cask of brandy was found lashed to the mainmast, most of the crew were drunk, and their losses amounted to 150 men killed, besides the wounded.

Some small arrivals of provisions came in October, but not sufficient to relieve the Garrison from apprehension, so means were taken to buy stores from Cadiz or from any place in the country. Proposals were also made to the Governor of Alcazar to exchange powder for beef. A ship, the *Pioneer*, with provisions for Tangiers, was captured by Algerine pirates and sent to Sallee. The same fleet of pirates had also taken and sunk seventeen English ships, and Sir Palmes hopes Sir John Narborough may avenge them.

An account of the progress of the Mole and number of cubic feet of work done while in charge of Mr. Sheer is given, and amongst the signatures to the document sent home is that of Cloudesley Shovel, who afterwards made such a spirited answer at the giving up of Tangiers, in 1684, in answer to Muley Ishmael's boastful letter on the rendition of the town.

In November complaint is made that the recruits that were last sent out were short in numbers, as instead of 300 supposed to have been despatched only 250 arrived, and many of them were since dead with "scurvy and flux." The Lieut.-Governor thanks the Lords Commissioners for his commission then sent to him, and states that the Governor of Alcazar will not supply cattle to the Garrison unless he has powder in exchange, and that peace is concluded according to the proposals.

Again, writing in December, he strongly urges the arrears of pay to be sent, and states that these amount to twelve months due on the old, and twelve months on the new account.

On the 8th of December His Majesty's proclamation concerning the Militia of Tangiers was sent, and it was ordered amongst other

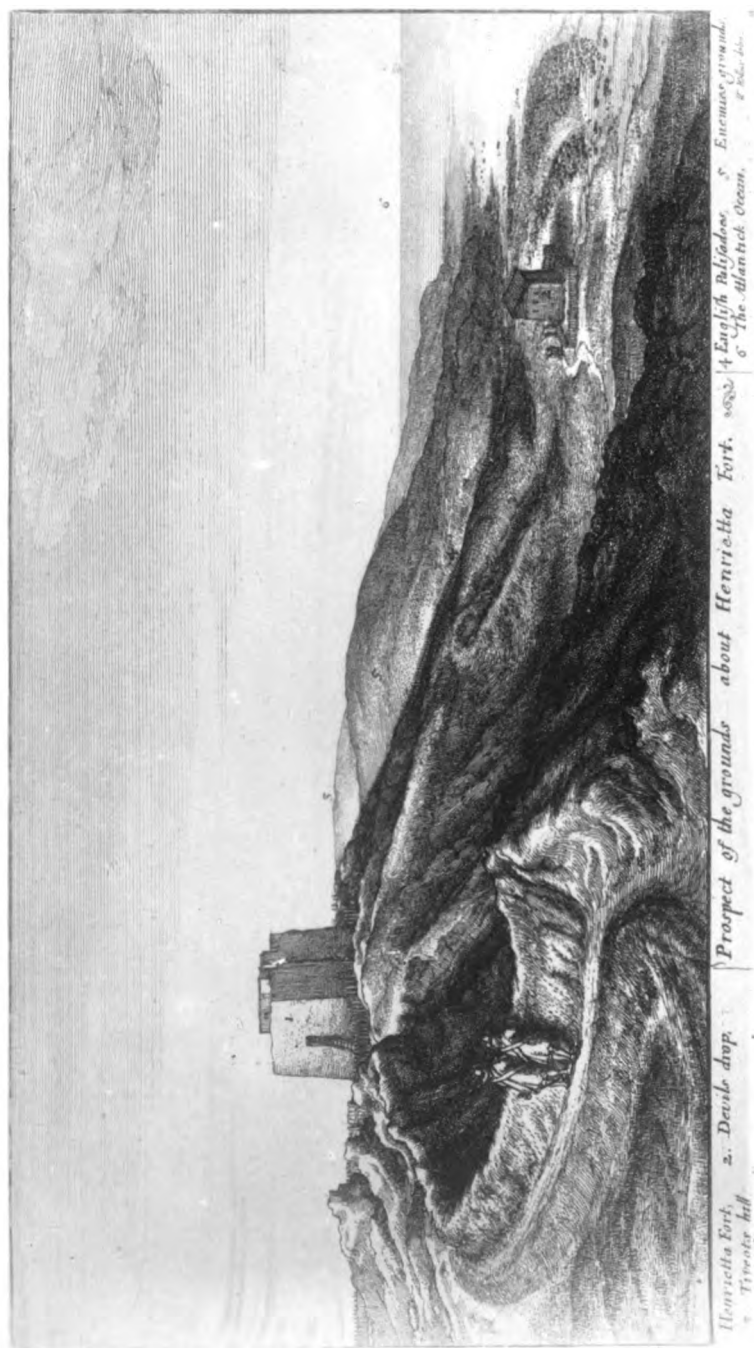
matters that the Militia should consist of the freemen and inhabitants of the city, and that none should be officers but the members of the Corporation. The Mayor was to nominate, and the Commander-in-Chief was to give the commissions.

Considerable progress had been made in sinking the chests at the Mole, rendering it as they fondly hoped secure from damage.

Major Daniels is reported as having recovered from his illness, and Captain Francis Trelawney was appointed to command at Charles Fort

There seems to have been a spirit of mutiny in the Garrison about this time. A court-martial sat on two men of Major Daniels's company for mutinous conduct; one was sentenced to be shot and the other to have thirty-nine lashes, "thirteen on the right, thirteen on the left, and thirteen on the centre, by the hands of the common executioner, in front of the parade." On the 24th of December a more serious affair occurred, bringing out prominently the determined character of the Lieut.-Governor, Sir Palmes Fairborne. On the previous day Captain Scrope, commanding the main guard, committed a soldier to prison for disobedience. As soon as they were relieved, ten or twelve of the men who had been on duty went with their arms to the Lieut.-Governor's house and asked to speak with him. Upon his servant bringing him the message he went to them to ask their business, when the corporal of the party demanded the release of the prisoner, stating that he had been condemned wrongfully. The Lieut.-Governor at once rushed at him, and seized his arms; the soldier resisting and trying to present his musket at the Lieut.-Governor, who, however, was too quick and prompt for him, for he wrenched the piece out of his hands, and without a moment's hesitation shot him down. With assistance from Major Daniels, who had followed the party, two more of the mutineers were taken. A council of war was assembled at once and condemned them to be shot the next day. On a subsequent investigation it was found that they had been strongly urged to act as they had done by the ringleader, the corporal who was shot. The Lieut.-Governor thereupon pardoned them, but the soldier who had disobeyed Captain Scrope was ordered to be whipped at the head of the parade.

Sir Palmes, in writing home about this circumstance, regrets "that any man should fall by his hand; but His Majesty's service, and the ill consequences that might have ensued, if not prevented by such a sudden surprizal upon them, will, he hopes, begett a favourable censure in His Most Sacred Majestie and Royal Highness of his suddaine motive therein, and that he may be satisfied they do not condemn his proceedings."



VIEW OF THE GROUND FROM HENRIETTA FORT. TANGIER, 1669.

From the Engraving by Hollar in the Royal Library at Windsor.



On the 6th of January, heavy firing was heard at night from Charles, Henrietta, Kendall, Pond, and Ann Forts, and in the intervals of the firing the shouts of the Moors could be distinguished. The night was so very dark that the troops, after being ordered to march to the assistance of the men in the Forts, were kept back till daylight, when the Lieutenant-Governor went with his Horse and 200 Foot to see what had happened. The Moors, no doubt, expected, as soon as the fighting began, that troops would be sent from the Castle, and waited in ambush for them. Half-an-hour after the firing began Sir Palmes saw, from the Castle wall, Kendall Fort blown up, and soon afterwards on fire; shortly afterwards a light appeared in Henrietta Fort, from which he concluded it was also lost, which indeed proved to be the case. After three hours the Moors withdrew, at least the firing ceased; but it was too dark to see anything.

When the troops marched at daylight (the Foot commanded by Captain Leslie), they went first to Henrietta Fort, where they found two dead; the remaining eight having been carried off by the Moors. From there they proceeded to Kendall Fort, with great caution, as it was suspected that the Moors were in close proximity (which afterwards proved to be the case, 500 Horse having been in hiding in the valley close under the Fort). They also found Kendall Fort in ruins; all the ten men in charge were either killed or burnt to death, and amongst them was a very valued non-commissioned officer (a Sergeant), who had been in command of the Fort since it was built. The Moors must have been in great numbers, judging from the noise they made. They used stink-pots in their attack, no doubt taught by the Turks; these missiles when they broke burst into a sudden flame, the smoke from them suffocating the men. A quantity of the palisades had been broken up, and a small falconette which was in Kendall Fort had been carried away. The attack was made by the treacherous Governor or Alcade of Alcazar, Amar Hadou, but this does not appear to have been known by the Lieutenant-Governor, who continued to discuss terms of peace with him, although not trusting him. Another account of this surprise says it took place in March;* but this is evidently an error, as the original Tangiers papers are precise in the date. The same authority says that the gun (falconette) that was captured was marked with the arms of Portugal. The gun was taken by the

* Chenier's *Recherches Historiques sur les Maures*, Vol. III., p. 386.

Governor to Meguines with great triumph, and Muley Ishmael was so elated with this first evidence of the victory of his troops over the hated Christians that he thereupon elevated the Alcade to the rank of Viceroy of that province.

In writing home an account of the attack the Lieutenant-Governor beseeches His Majesty "to fortify the town, build more forts abroad, and to increase the Militia." In a letter a few days later Sir Palmes states that he has taken all precautions to prevent a like disgrace, although he says there are few forts tenable against the new tactics of the Moors, who have great wooden forks which they use to lift the stink-pots over the fort wall, and also to rear ladders, and which he says they made use of at both forts in their late successes. He urges again the necessity for more troops, which he suggests may be sent from the standing regiments, as the last recruits sent had become such unserviceable soldiers as to be "past all recovery."

The Moors were about the lines every night, but they did not again attack. Reports reached the Garrison that they were preparing a great quantity of scaling ladders, "14 being seen by an English merchant, whereon 4 men can mount abreast." Their workmen were also daily employed making more ladders, near the river, about three leagues from Tangiers. The soldiers had to go on night duty in the forts every other night, and in consequence they were much fatigued and discouraged. Great damage had been done to the Mole by the late storms, which had been very severe.

The Governor of Alcazar was very anxious to "breed a confidence" in the Garrison. Later events show that the advances he made were rightly estimated by the Lieutenant-Governor, who remarks that he was "sensible of his drift," and that he does not intend to allow any advance to be made towards a peace until he has Kendall Fort repaired and in his hands again. The correspondence at this time shows that the Moors were very anxious to take the place, as it had become so valuable through the work that had been done there, and they rightly imagined that it would be invaluable to their piratical cruisers. They would "think nothing of losing 1,000 men in taking it."

In February and March urgent letters were sent home for more officers and men. The Lieutenant-Governor had completed Henrietta and Kendall Forts, which he considered safe from attack. Some excitement was created in the Garrison on the 9th of February by the capture of a Turkish ship by the Chatham sloop and its arrival at Tangiers with twenty-four merchantmen, and the Woolwich sloop. The Turks were put under proper guard on the Chatham sloop, but

on the Sunday news was brought to Sir Palmes, who was at church, that they had risen and overpowered the sentinels who were guarding them. When the Lieutenant-Governor arrived at the Mole he found the Turks had got the sloop under sail. The guns on the Mole were at once laid on to try and sink her, and though she seemed to have got out of range one of the guns from the Mole battery struck her so heavily that the Turks ran her on shore and nearly all of them perished. Two of the crew of the sloop who formed part of the guard escaped the slaughter by the Turks, and afterwards reached the Garrison and gave the details of the surprise. In March the *Foresight* frigate arrived with stores of provisions for the Navy and Garrison, also ammunition and six months' pay. Western Cove Fort had been put into a good position for defence, and Fountain Fort was being repaired; so that the Lieutenant-Governor hoped soon to have them all defensible.

In April Sir Palmes again writes urgently pressing for more troops as the soldiers were required to do three nights' duty in the week. The fortifications seem, according to reports, to have been vigorously proceeded with. There were also two hundred and forty-eight men employed on the Mole (besides slaves), and forty-four horses to carry stone, and "lighters, sloops, and other vessels which float great stones to the head of the work." Mr. Sheer, writing home to Sir J. Williamson, says that he had placed three chests, and had six more ready, and hoped to finish all in the summer if the Levant winds did not prevent him. The same gentleman sends news that Muley Achmet* is again at the head of a powerful army, and that Muley Ishmael had his hands full with all the force he can get together. The plague seems about this date to have caused considerable apprehension to the Garrison. It had spread from Algiers and Tetuan, and had made fearful ravages. It had also infected most of the towns in the neighbourhood of Tangiers, but had so far spared the garrison. Its ravages, coupled with the sacrifice of life in the wars between Achmet and Ishmael, had almost depopulated some parts of the country. "Chenier" says it was reported that the plague had carried off four millions of persons; but, as he says naively, "this appears to me extraordinary," and was, no doubt, an absurd exaggeration.†

In the month of May Lord Inchiquin arrived, and Sir Palmes

* This potentate's name is written Hamet in the Tangiers Papers.

† Chenier *Recherches Historiques sur les Maures*, Vol. III., p. 386.

Fairborne went home to enjoy his well-earned rest. A slight brush took place with the Moors on the 16th of May when by creeping up through the long grass they surprised a party of soldiers who were sent to cut grass for the horses on the ground outside of Charles Fort towards Teviot Hill. Two of the soldiers were cut to pieces, but the rest escaped. On the 2nd of June the Moors were a little more "insolent and adventurous;" 200 of their horse and foot laid an ambuscade to cut off all the quarrymen working at the Eastern Tower, from which quarry they got the hard stone for the chests. Fortunately the quarrymen were engaged the morning this occurred on the Mole, in helping to place a chest, so they only killed a poor fisherman; but they themselves, being very much exposed to the fire from the cannon on the Mole, lost heavily, and it appears to have taught them a lesson, for we hear of no more attacks this year.

The Garrison appears about this time to have lost the services of a most useful and efficient officer, Mr. Bolland, the Comptroller, who, Mr. Sheer writes home in June, was on his death-bed with consumption.

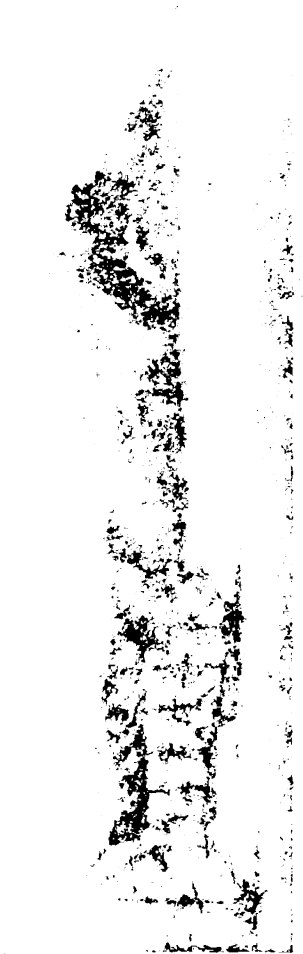
It appears from a return at this period that the number of civil inhabitants of Tangiers was very small and inconsiderable.*

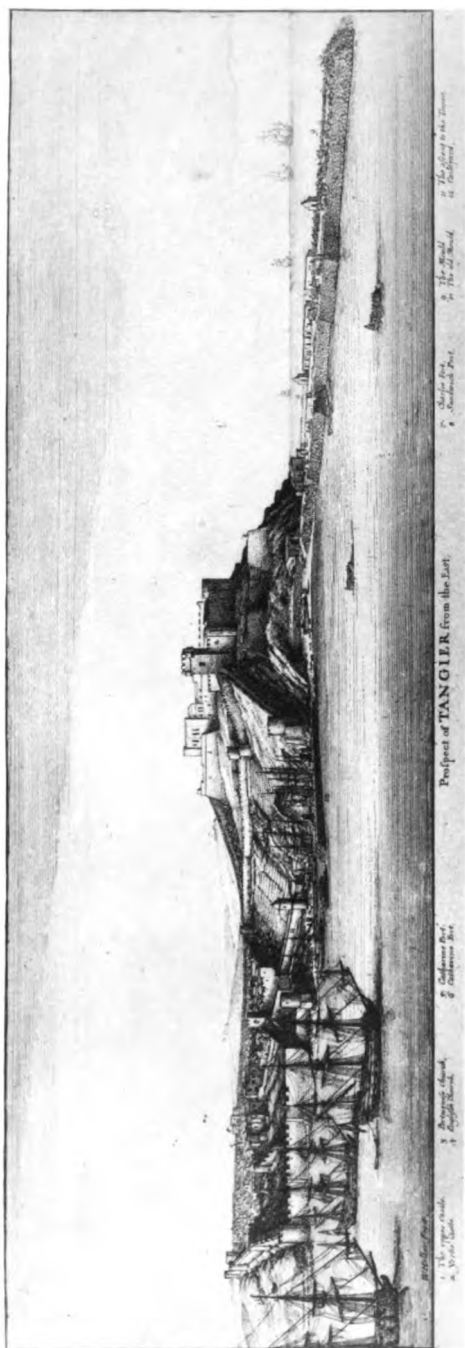
| | |
|---|-----|
| Free.—The number of New English and Forraigners Inhabitants | 257 |
| „ The number of Women | 104 |
| „ The number of Male Children | 86 |
| „ The number of Female Children | 83 |
| The number of Male Servants | 40 |
| The number of Female Servants | 30 |
| The Total of y ^e people of Tanger | 600 |

A more elaborate description is given in the following table (taken also from the Dartmouth MSS.), which in the first column shows a remarkable decrease in the value of the rent, consequent no doubt upon the insecurity felt. The table is a very interesting one. The total effective force is shown as:—

| | |
|---------------------------|-------|
| Army | 1,231 |
| Trained Band or Militia | 261 |
| Officers, including Staff | 50 |
| Total in all | 1,542 |

* Dartmouth MSS, 1674-1678.





VIEW OF TANGIER FROM THE EAST.
From the Engraving by Hollar in the Royal Library at Windsor.

**AN ABSTRACT OF A SURVEY AND STATE OF TANGER IN
THE YEAR 1678.**

SHEWING :—

Pss. $\frac{s}{d}$

That in Anno 1668, the value of the Houses in this City upon a Rack
Rent according to the then Survey Annually amounted to 17,701

By a like Survey now taken, the Rack Rent of the said City amounts
to no more than 5,418

The number of Buildings, their Situation and Quality, either as Inheritances,
Leases, Quarters, King's Houses, Stores, Churches, and into how many hands
the whole is divided :—

| Number
in
General. | Number
of
Inheri-
tances. | Number
of
Leases
Granted. | His Mat ^m
Castles,
Houses,
and
Stores. | Number
of
Churches. | What
the
Portu-
guese
possess. | What
the
English
possess. | Into whose
hands they are
divided. | The
Total
Divisions
are— |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|---------------------------|--|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 429 | 85 | 231 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 1 | His Majty 5
Officers... 50
Townsm ⁿ 32 | 87 |

Setting forth who granted the Leases, the Leases themselves, the time when let,
for what years, what fines, what yearly rent, and remaining years of the said
Leases which are yet to come :—

| The Leases. | Leases
granted | The Time when
Let. | For
what
Years. | For
what
Fines. | For what
Yearly
Rent. | The Remainder
of Years
to come. |
|--|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Col. Fitz
Gerald { | 41 | 29 Sept., 1664 | 21 years | Ps. st. 8 | Ps. st. 8 | 9 years to come. |
| The Lord
Bellasis { | 6 | 29 Sept., 1665 | 21 " | 1,484 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 1,051 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 10 " " |
| | 1 | 25 Mar., 1666 | 21 " | | 177R ¹ | 11 " " |
| | 1 | 29 Sept., 1667 | 31 " | | | 22 " " |
| Col. Hen.
Norwood { | 33 | 29 Sept., 1667 | 21 " | 821 | 279 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 12 " " |
| | 15 | 29 Sept., 1668 | 21 " | | | 13 " " |
| | 5 | 25 Mar., 1669 | 21 " | | | 14 " " |
| | 5 | 25 Mar., 1670 | 21 " | | | 15 " " |
| Earl of
Middleton { | 5 | 25 Mar., 1671 | 21 " | 22 | 66 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 16 " " |
| | 3 | 25 Mar., 1672 | 21 " | | | 17 " " |
| | 3 | 25 Mar., 1673 | 21 " | | | 18 " " |
| Col ^l Rog ^r
Alsop | 6 | 25 Mar., 1674 | 21 " | 79 | 33 | 19 " " |
| | 124 | In all appears | | 2,406 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 14,383R ^u | |

Declaring how many People of all Sorts and Qualities inhabit y^e said Houses :

| The City House-keepers. | Their Wives. | Servants. | | Slaves. | | Children. | | Strangers. | | The sum of all. | Whereof | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|-----------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|---------|------------|---------|-----------------|---------|--------|-----------|
| | | Male. | Female. | Male. | Female. | Male. | Female. | Male. | Female. | | Men. | Women. | Children. |
| 129 | 62 | 33 | 25 | 6 | 11 | 68 | 63 | 44 | 16 | 457 | 205 | 121 | 131 |

The People of the Mole, in the City, upon the Mole, and at Whitby :

| House-keepers. | Their Wives. | Servants. | | The Laborers. | Children. | | The Whole. | Whereof | | |
|----------------|--------------|-----------|---------|---------------|-----------|---------|------------|---------|--------|-----------|
| | | Male. | Female. | | Male. | Female. | | Men. | Women. | Children. |
| 28 | 26 | 4 | 4 | 56 | 18 | 20 | 156 | 88 | 30 | 38 |

The Train'd Bands being composed out of the Citizens and Molemen aforementioned, wth the Officers are 261 Effective men. Besides the Portugal Priests, which are in, being 17 ; whereof the Citizens are 173, and of the Molemen 88.

The Army, in w^{ch} there is among the Staff Officers, Train, Troopers, and Soldiers :

| House-keepers. | Their Wives. | Servants. | | Children. | | Non-Commission Officers, Soldiers, and Troopers. | Commission and Staff Officers. | The Sum of all. | Whereof | | |
|----------------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|--|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------|--------|-----------|
| | | Male. | Female. | Male. | Female. | | | | Men. | Women. | Children. |
| 40 | 129 | 2 | 7 | 98 | 75 | 1231 | 50 | 1592 | 1283 | 136 | 173 |

So that in the City and Army there are :

| The House-keepers. | The Wives. | Widows and Single Women. | Children. | | Churchmen and Priests. | The whole Army in Men, Women, and Children. | All the people in the City, Mole, and Army are : |
|--------------------|------------|--------------------------|-----------|---------|------------------------|---|--|
| | | | Male. | Female. | | | |
| 197 | 217 | 70 | 184 | 158 | 20 | 1592 | 2225 |
| | | | Is 342 | | | | |

The Land without the Walls contains about 300 acres. Whereof—

For the Horses Hay, and in Gardens to the Forts without, is applied ... 200

For feeding Cattel brought in by Strangers to sell and for Townsmen
and Officers w^t they buy 100

Is 300

The Forts without the Walls are 15, viz. :—

Charles Fort, James Fort, Kendal Fort, Monmouth Fort, Pond Fort, Cambridge Fort, Ann's Fort, Fountain Fort, Powel Fort, Norwood Fort, Whitehall, Brown George Fort, Devil's Drop, Whitby Fort, Palmes Fort.

There is very little of interest in the Tangiers papers of this year; the whole of the correspondence in the latter part of 1678, and that of 1679, relating to legal proceedings, some of which are very curious. In one, Thomas Bennett, store-keeper to the Ordnance, having a bill of 538 pieces of eight to be paid on demand against Captain Henry Rowe, and having been refused payment after having several times demanded it, was allowed by the Earl of Inchiquin to "Sue y^e within complayned of, provided his person and arms be not meddled with."

On the 3rd of April, according to a letter from Tangiers, dated the 6th, in the *London Gazette*, there was a brisk fight. The Moors appear to have made a general assault on all the Forts, but to have made their main attack on Whitby. Two wooden Redoubts that were placed to defend Whitby were lost, but not till the brave garrison had made a most gallant resistance, ending with their death. The attack was made by the Governor of Alcazar, Amar Hadon, or Omar Ben Hado, and who had, so the account says, 4,500 Foot and 600 Horse about half-a-mile off, ready, no doubt, to follow up the attack, should it have been successful. One of the wooden redoubts, which was a low house with a little tower at one end of it, was defended by a sergeant and twenty-eight men, and after they had resisted as long as they could, they retreated to the tower, and blew up the house with fifty or sixty Moors who were upon the roof. They defended themselves in the tower for over an hour, when, one end of it falling in, the Moors entered and found only eight alive with the sergeant, who, refusing to take quarter, were all killed. At the other redoubt, which was defended by a sergeant and twelve men, a similar act of self-sacrificing bravery was witnessed; for after they could no longer make use of their fire-arms "they defended themselves with their swords and hand-pikes till some were killed, others wounded, and all their arms broken in pieces." When the defence was no longer possible the gallant sergeant ordered the men that were alive to retire, and then blew up the redoubt, perishing with the forty Moors that had entered. The loss of the Queen's Regiment in this skirmish was twenty killed and fifteen taken prisoners. The Moors owned to

losing 150, but their loss, according to news from their camp, must have been double that number, besides their wounded.*

In an anonymous letter, dated from Cadiz, on board the *Hopewell*, addressed to William Ellis, at the "Three Pidgeons," in Creed Lane, who appears to have received it on the 13th August, the writer, after referring to the troubles at home caused by the Popish Plots, and the insurrection in Scotland, gives particulars of the dangers that the Town and Garrison is exposed to. He writes that it is reported there are fifteen thousand Moors encamped against it, and that there has been some slight skirmishing; but at the date of his writing, the Garrison had arranged a truce for sixty days, said to be "politically proposed and held on foot by the Town, in hopes that they may in that time receive some supplies of Provisions, Ammunition, &c., from England; for they complain lamentably that they are very ill-furnished in case of a siege." It appears from the writer's account that the Moors had been materially assisted in their designs by getting possession of fifteen hundred barrels of powder, which it is reported had been landed at Tangiers, and afterwards conveyed away by roguery into the enemy's camp. Being evidently a strong patriot, the writer launches out into indignant abuse of those who for self-interest "furnish our foes with means to cut our throats," and says he cannot think without resentment "and some emotions of spirit, of those who are betrayers of their country's safety, honour, wealth, and reputation." †

It is very possible that it was not any English, but some foreign merchants who were allowed to trade in Tangiers, who imported and sold to the Moors this powder; at the same time it is a sad picture of the want of proper care and vigilance in the Garrison, that the powder could be landed and conveyed to the enemy without its being discovered. The writer of the pamphlet goes on to say that he is in

* The Present Danger of Tangier; or, an Account of its being attempted by a great Army of the Moors by Land, and under some apprehensions of the French at Sea. 1769.

† On the 7th April a Bill was ordered to be brought in by the House of Commons "for annexing Tangier to the Imperial Crown of England,"¹ and on the 10th a Resolution was passed *nem. con.*, which showed that the country, or at all events its representatives, were not yet ready to sacrifice Tangiers to the religious passions of the time, or to entertain the idea if it should be tried of making it over for a money consideration, like Dunkirk, to the King of France. The Resolution was as follows:—"That this House is of opinion, that those who shall advise his Majesty to part with Tangier to any Foreign Prince or State, or be instrumental therein, ought to be accounted enemies to the King and Kingdom."²

¹ Commons Journals, Vol. IX., 588. ² Scott's History of the British Army, Vol. III. p. 417.

considerable fear of Tangiers being lost, which, he says, would, if it should fall into some people's hands, cause the loss of all their Mediterranean trade.* The French had forty sail of galleys lying at Gibraltar, which caused some apprehension that they might be in correspondence with the Moors about the place. There can be no doubt that it was a hard, stern struggle, for the Garrison to hold the place, with troops wearied with constant assaults, disheartened from want of pay, and weakened by lack of sufficient food. The fear of falling into the hands of their cruel and barbarous enemies kept them resolute; and in the next year, when the persistent and determined attacks were made upon them, they fought like lions, almost with the courage of despair. There is really no part of the history of the Regiment which shows up more strongly the indomitable pluck and endurance of English soldiers than the defence of the Garrison of Tangiers; constantly harassed by a fierce, fanatical, and relentless foe, and having to fight under every disadvantage that they could labour under.

The events in England had been marching in a troubled way. King Charles had, without consulting his Council, on hearing that his Parliament intended passing a Bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession, prorogued it on the 26th May till 14th August. This was the new Parliament. The old one that had lasted from the Restoration till 1679 was dissolved on the 24th January. The temper of the Parliament was high against the King and his Government, and, although Charles was personally liked, as Macaulay says, "Nay, they so far forgot the doctrine which, while the memory of the civil war was still recent, they had loudly professed, that they even attempted to wrest the command of the Militia out of the King's hands. To such a temper had eighteen years of misgovernment brought the most loyal Parliament that had ever met in England."† The fear of a revival of Popery in the country had a great deal to do with the rendition of Tangiers, and it is not too much to say that, had not this religious prejudice been so strong, Tangiers might now, with a large portion of Morocco, have been under the rule of the British Government. It is sad reading the account of our history in those times, and we may well congratulate ourselves that we live in an age when religious animosities have in a great measure abated, at all events in our own country.

* The Present Danger of Tangier; or, an Account of its being attempted by a great Army of the Moors by Land, and under some apprehensions of the French at Sea, 1679.

† Macaulay's History of England, Vol. I, p. 235.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MOLE, OR
BREAKWATER.

FROM 1661 TO 1679.

CONTENTS.—First Survey by Lord Sandwich—Mole to be constructed by contract—Comparison with former Works—Cholmley's description of Ancient Moles—Pier at Whitby, Yorkshire—The Mole at Genoa—Large chests of stone employed—Death of Lord Teviot, Chief Contractor—The Whitby Quarries, Tangiers—Payment by Tallies—Slow Progress, 1666-8—Report of Lord Sandwich, 1668—Cholmley Surveyor-General—System of Piles adopted—Stone Pillars—The Chest System of Construction—Lord Middleton's Commissioners—Sir H. Cholmley's Commissioners—Plan of the Works, 1670—Report of the Commissioners—Second Survey, 1673—Extensive damage, 1674—Adoption of Shere's Plan—Armament of the Mole—Depth of Water—Lord Inchiquin's Report—Progress 1677-8—Estimate for demolishing Mole, 1683.

THE work on the Mole was a most important part of the occupation of Tangiers, and as it was also a considerable part of the duty of the Tangiers Regiment to protect it, and sometimes to work on it, a chapter devoted to it here will not be out of place. In the thread of our history and in the diary of the occupation of Tangiers, it is impossible to leave out the various details relating to it that are brought in from time to time in the correspondence of the Governors and their Officers to the Home authorities; but this chapter is intended to give a few early particulars of the work generally, so that it may be read separately in order to get an idea of what the Mole was intended to be, viz. :—a safe harbour for our ships in the Mediterranean as well as a protection to the Port and Garrison of Tangiers.

The Earl of Sandwich had, during the time he was waiting in Tangiers Bay for the Earl of Peterborough, surveyed the ground for the Mole, and had fixed upon a place on the north of the Bay, where was a ledge of rocks which would, he properly judged, be a natural protection on the side most exposed to the wind and storms of the Atlantic.

The Lords Commissioners for Tangiers, having duly weighed the reasons advanced for the building of the Mole, thought best to let it



[illegible]

The book *Changes in the Technology of the Firm* is a highly important contribution to the understanding of the Modern Firm, a book to be read by all.



VIEW OF TANGIER FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.
From the Engraving by Hollar in the Royal Library at Windsor.

be done in the form of a contract, to be given to responsible persons; "many of the Tangiers Lords [Commissioners] declaring such a work could never be carried on well but by way of contract, they gave encouragement to the said Earl of Teviot, Sir John Lawson and Mr. Cholmley, to enter into articles for building the same by the cubical yard. Thirteen shillings for every such yard was the price asked, and as readily consented to."*

The discussion that took place before the project was definitely decided upon was aided by the presence of Engineers sent from Genoa. The design of the Tangiers Mole was ambitious, in that it was proposed to be of a size larger than any heard of in those days.

Mr. Cholmley (afterwards Sir Hugh Cholmley) was from the first the leading spirit in the work, and for years laboured most heartily and intelligently on it; and although the Mole and Town were for political reasons at last abandoned by the Government of King Charles, so much had been done that the chief difficulties had been overcome; and had we retained possession of Tangiers, it would have been a monument of our enterprise and skill, and of infinite service to shipping in that part of the world.

It was considered a great work even by its original contractors, as we find by a most interesting book in the possession of Sir Hay Drummond Hay, our Ambassador at Tangiers, which gives some most interesting particulars of Tangiers, its history and occupation, as well as an account of the works of the Mole generally.†

Sir Hugh in his letters and speeches, from which the work above referred to is compiled, prefaces his observations on the Tangiers Mole by reference to the ancient works of similar kinds, and quaintly hopes that the design will prosper, "as guided by a higher power, and to an end above the reach of man's prospect; by the same hand, I mean that directed the first work of this kind, the Mole which Nebuchadnezzar built for reducing the City of Tyre." This work seems to have been a sort of sea way for connecting the Island of Tyre with the mainland. It took, according to Sir Walter Raleigh, in his "History of the World," thirteen years in building. The reduction

* The Patent Roll gives the date of a Commission to James Duke of York "for erecting the Mole and other fortifications at Tangiers" as November 20th, 1662.

See also *A Short Account of the Progress of the Mole at Tangiers*, from the first beginning of that work, 1662, p. 1.

† *An Account of Tangiers*, taken from MSS. in the possession of Nathaniel Cholmley, Esq., of Whitby and Howsham in the county of York. This work was kindly lent to the author, and from it much valuable information has been derived.

of Tyre that followed the completion of the work is said to have been "accomplished by the backs and shoulders of an Army," no doubt referring to the labour in building the Mole the completion of which enabled the assault to be made.* The great Alexander, two hundred and seventy years later, had to proceed to reduce Tyre by similar means, but he wisely began on the old foundations of the work of the Chaldean King, and thus accomplished in seven months what it took the former thirteen years to do. He was no doubt greatly assisted by his fleet, a power and help which Nebuchadnezzar had not. Curtius writing about it says that the latter Mole was built with great trees, "cast into the sea with their branches on, and afterwards sunk by the weight of stones in which they were buried."†

Sir Hugh goes on to describe subsequent Moles: one built by Herod at Cæsarea, not far from Joppa, which is described by Josephus, and which occupied twelve years in building. It seems to have been a splendid structure, having "cellars and other magazines for the reception of merchandise." It was built in a circular form, and had, "according to modern practice,"‡ half of the fabric, which was two hundred feet broad, merely made as a breakwater to defend the inner work. Pliny describes the mode of building a Mole in Italy, as bringing great stones in a ship and casting them in a confused manner into the sea until they were piled up above the surface of the water. To strengthen the work piles were driven in upon this structure; when well above the water the pier or Mole was built. It is most interesting and instructive to read the detailed account Sir Hugh Cholmley gives of the various works in Holland and elsewhere; but it is more to our purpose to give his own personal experience before he undertook the Tangiers Mole as well as his duties at Tangiers.

He describes his experience at the construction of a pier built at Whitby in Yorkshire,§ which, although built in the usual manner with huge stones pitched into the sea, yet in consequence of the pier or Mole being exposed for two hundred yards to the full force of the sea, the foundations of huge stones were in addition bound with "great pieces of wood let into the foundation, and cross-bound with others let into the stone, and bolted with iron." This was not found strong

* An Account of Tangiers, by Sir Hugh Cholmley, Bart., p. 45.

† Idem, p. 46.

‡ This modern practice, be it remembered, was about the year 1670.

§ The quarries at Whitby, near Tangiers, were named after Whitby in Yorkshire, where Sir Hugh seems to have had his first experience in this kind of work.

enough to resist the storms. Having observed how a small tree set up as a mark for shipping withstood the same seas that laid level the massive pier described, he came to the conclusion that the cause was that the sea had a free passage about the tree, and that though they might and would not stand if set contiguously, yet if placed in several rows they abated or intercepted the weight of the seas, and so protected the principal work, viz., the wall of the Pier or Mole.

This plan, adopted at Whitby Pier, succeeded so well that he practised it at Tangiers with great effect. He comes to the conclusion that in deep water, and where seas fall with great weight, no body that is contiguous can be made of sufficient strength to resist the sea, which will first shake, then loosen, the stones of the pier, and then bring it down little by little. He then refers to the protection given to the Mole at Genoa, which, though made of massive hard stones laid in "line and tarrace so that it seems an entire rock near twenty yards thick," it has been found necessary to raise a ledge of large rocks to break off the force of the seas.

Very many interesting observations are made in the papers by Sir Hugh Cholmley, on the action of the sea and waves on permanent sea structures, worthy of study by engineers, but rather out of place in our history.

He finishes his chapter on the general construction of Moles by a comparison of the method practised on the Mole then building at Genoa, and on the system at Tangiers, by which it appears that the Genoa Mole was built with huge wooden chests, fifty-four feet in length (the width of the Mole), thirty-six in breadth, and eighteen feet deep, floated over a foundation of loose stones, filled with stones and sunk on to the chest, being water-tight, it was afterwards filled with cement and stones, so that it formed a solid mass of the area stated above.

Tangiers Mole was in the first place built of large stones brought by lighters from the Whitby quarries, but later on by carts along the shore; afterwards, when storms had injured the work, piles were driven in rows before the work, as shown in later plans and sketches. The chest plan was afterwards used, some immense chests ranging from 500 to 2,000 tons being sunk on the work.

About the beginning of June, 1663, Mr. Cholmley arrived at Tangiers with "about forty masons, miners, and other proper artists and workmen," * whom he had some difficulty in persuading to

* A Short Account of the Progress of the Mole at Tangiers, from the first beginning of that Work, 1662, p. 2.

come out, owing to the bad reputation Tangiers had already got by the sufferings of the first soldiers and settlers. He found the place so destitute of conveniences that the whole of the summer was spent in preparing for the work. It was not till August that the first foundation was laid, but by the end of December good progress had been made.

In February, 1664, Mr. Cholmley was called home by the death of his elder brother, but he had not been many months in England before he heard of the death of Lord Teviot, on the 3rd of May. As the Governor was also chief Contractor, it was imperative that Mr. Cholmley should not only return as soon as possible, but that he should see to the proper provision of officers and stores necessary for the vigorous prosecution of the work. The trouble he had in arranging this, and also the difficulty of getting the money necessary for the work, delayed him so that he did not arrive at Tangiers until January, 1665.

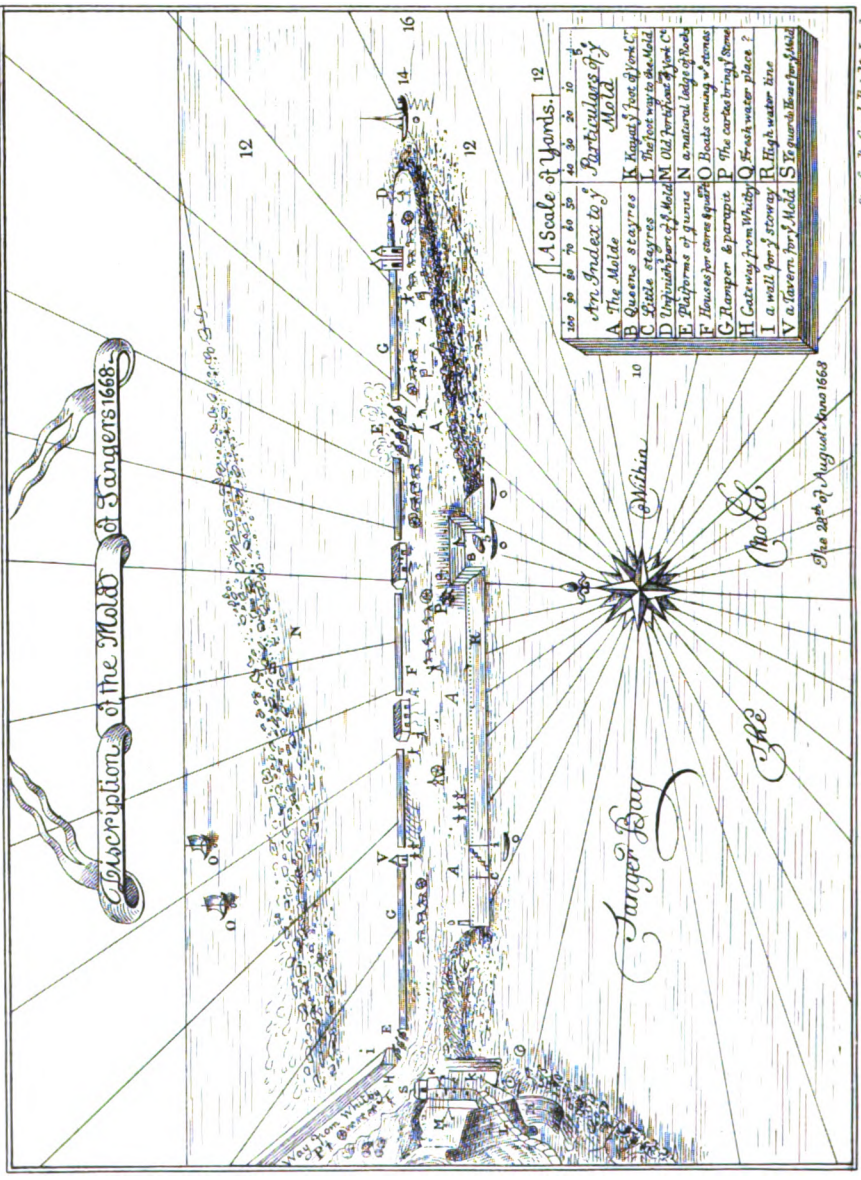
On his arrival he found that little work had been done during his absence, in consequence of the confusion and dismay caused by the loss of the Governor and so many men, and which had necessitated the employment of the workmen on the Mole as soldiers.

The system of water carriage of the stones, too, had been seriously interfered with by the Levant winds. He therefore set to work at once to build carts for land carriage of the materials, and to further facilitate the work he built a little town at the Quarries at Whitby, which contained stables for ninety horses, besides magazines for stores and houses for the workmen. Sir Hugh Cholmley, in his account of the Mole and its works, already referred to, says with reference to Whitby:—"It will lodge about two hundred daily labourers and workmen, having the resemblance of a small city or commonwealth where everything is in little. The whole bears the name of Whitby, so called by several workmen that came at first to this place from Whitby in Yorkshire." * A book of Plans of Tangiers at Windsor Castle contains one of Whitby, and explains that it contained "accommodation for 150 people, and provision of victualling for y^e said number for 12 months; stabling for 90 horses and provender for 12 months, together with all sorts of stores for y^e use and servis of y^e Molle." The drawings give full details of the principal building, which was 240 ft. long by 15 ft. wide.†

Sir Hugh, finding from the difficulties of the work that it was

* An Account of Tangiers, by Sir Hugh Cholmley, p. 71.

† Tangiers Plans in the Royal Library, Windsor.



Standard's Great Estate, London

TANGIERS BAY, SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE MOLE 1668.
(from the original drawing in the Royal Library at Windsor)

impossible for the Contract to be carried on at the rate originally agreed upon, wrote to Sir John Lawson, the other Contractor left with himself to carry on the work of the Mole, to represent this to the Tangiers Council and the King. His Majesty freed them from the consequences of the contract price, and added 4s. per cubic yard to the original price of the Contract, which was 13s.

In the Plans of Tangiers at Windsor Castle, already referred to, is one dated January 20th, 1665, which gives "cubical contents of the Mole building at Tangiers as it is now in being," and shows 10,558 cubic yards as "the part that is now above the ground at this time."

At the end of the year 1665 Sir Hugh appears to have gone home again, but before leaving he took care to arrange the affairs of the Mole on an excellent system, and left the work under "knowing & intelligent Officers," the principal of whom was a Mr. Shere, who was a most intelligent engineer, and one who afterwards took a most active part in the construction of the Mole.

Lord Bellasyse, who succeeded to the command of the Garrison by appointment under the Crown, did not arrive until the April following the death of the Earl of Teviot. During his Governorship the work of the Mole was so well advanced that they were able to build a battery upon it, which was of great service in securing the Mole from the attacks of the Dutch Fleet in the wars that took place that year. Sir John Lawson was killed in this war, so the whole burden of the work was left upon Sir Hugh Cholmley. The difficulty of getting payments from home caused the overseers of the work to have to institute payment by tallies: and having to buy stores on credit, and sometimes payment being protracted for twenty-four to thirty months, the price paid was greatly in excess of what it ought to have been; this caused not only great discontent, but delay, trouble, and cost.

Lord Bellasyse did not stay long in command at Tangiers, but returned home in April, 1666, and Colonel Norwood was left in command as Lieutenant-Governor until the appointment of Lord Middleton, who did not arrive till the beginning of October, 1669.

The works had not progressed well during this time, and the Tangiers papers show how much of the delay and expense was caused by the want of money, of which Sir Hugh was constantly complaining.

The complaints and the uncertainty about the progress of the work caused the Government to instruct the Earl of Sandwich, who was at Madrid, to go to Tangiers and to make a survey of the work of the Mole, which he did with the help of Mr. Shere. He reported that it had been carried out to a length of 380 yards, and he sent

home an elaborate plan showing the actual position of the work at that time. The report is dated 28th August, 1668. It is very interesting, and gives many particulars of the progress of the work.

In August, the Lords Commissioners, taking into consideration the death of the two Contractors, Lord Teviot and Sir John Lawson, who, jointly with Sir Hugh Cholmley, undertook the work, and that the security for building the Mole depended on the sole life of the latter, cancelled the articles of the contract originally entered into by the three contractors above named, and organised the undertaking into a department or "office" under the conduct of Sir Hugh Cholmley as Surveyor-General.

Sir Hugh arrived in Tangiers in April, 1670, and on his arrival there, finding that the Mole had been much injured by the storms of the two preceding winters, he did not begin at once to repair the breaches that had been made, but constructed some works that he calculated would so break the seas as to save the Mole from further injury. To effect this, he set all hands to work, and "caused piles of wood to be shod with iron well steeled at the points." These he, with the "engine commonly used," drove into a foundation made by the *débris* of the breaches, and in front of them he placed the piles in three rows about four feet apart—"the inward piles being set opposite to the vacancy of the outward"—and he considered that these piles would serve two useful purposes—one to prevent the spreading of the foundation, and the other to break the force of the sea before it came to the Mole. Upon further consideration, and fearing the destruction of the wooden piles by the worms, he designed pillars, which were built up of large stones from two to four tons in weight, squared and laid in tarrace, and bound together with iron and lead solder. These pillars, which, when completed, were from 10 to 12 feet square, and from 60 to 100 tons weight, were placed in rows like the piles, with their angles to the sea, and at 15 feet distance one from the other. There were two rows of these built-up pillars, the point of the nearest being 12 feet distant from the side of the Mole, and the whole width of the two rows of stone pillars from point to point being 16 feet. The foundations of the pillars and the piles were further strengthened by loose stones being thrown in, so that a considerable part of it was thus buried.*

The piles and pillars were erected in the course of a few weeks, and were generally "commended by the hands of most persons who were considerable in the place." The storms of the two following

* An Account of Tangiers, by Sir Hugh Cholmley, pp. 57-59.

winters bore testimony to the value of this breakwater, for they passed without doing any damage to the Mole or to the pillars or piles forming this breakwater.

Mr. Shere had been sent to Genoa to take observations on the manner of the building of the Mole there with chests, and on the arrival of Sir Hugh in 1670 he strongly advised him to proceed with the work on the same system, and also to build an inner Mole with chests. This engineer clung persistently to the advisability of the Genoa system, in spite of the opinion of Sir Hugh that it was not advisable in face of the heavy weather that generally prevailed at Tangiers, and which he thought would hinder the proper placing of the chests. The Surveyor-General did not, however, carry his opposition to a point that chests could not be used if the breakwater was first formed to take off the force of the seas, and later on he, as will be seen, ordered the work to be continued on this system.

In July of 1670 a plan and profile of the Mole was sent home, giving particulars of the work. The drawing gives an exact idea both of the work on the Mole, and of the pillars and piles erected by Sir Hugh for its protection, and is accompanied by a full description.

It is signed by the Commissioners appointed by the Governor and the Surveyor-General, as follows :—

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| Earl of Middleton's
Commissioners. | { P. Fairborne.
John Giles.
Dan English.
Ewald Teysen,
(or Teybin). | Sir Hugh Cholmley's
Commissioners. | { W. Wickham.
H. Shere.
R. Bolland. |
|---------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|---|

On the 10th of August a further survey was made and a sketch sent home, showing the progress of the work, and also plans of the stone pillars for the breakwater, and on it is, amongst other particulars, written, "21 of these pillars erected by Sir Hugh Cholmley are about 9 feet square, conteyning from 31 ton of stone to 47 tonnes." *

The Commissioners appointed to report on the Mole were assisted in their deliberations by the Earl of Middleton, and also Lord Howard (afterwards the sixth Duke of Norfolk), who was then on an Embassy to the Emperor of Morocco. A report was sent home that the practice with pillars was the "most probable expedient for the repair, and that if the same resisted the storms of the approaching winter, the work ought to be carried on in the same way for the future."

The work did resist the storms of not only that but also of the following winter, 1671, but great trouble was experienced by Sir

* Tangiers Plans in the Royal Library at Windsor.

Hugh in carrying out the work in consequence of the want of funds ; one account saying that the two years from 1670, when he arrived, till 1672, when he was forced to go home to make arrangements for means to carry on the work, he did it "almost wholly without money, upon his own credit." *

In 1671 another survey of the Mole was undertaken, to send home to the Lords Commissioners. It is signed (in addition to the former commissioners appointed by the Governor and the Surveyor-General) by two sea commanders, Dan Stebing and I. Rears. This survey gives most interesting particulars, and says quaintly upon it, with reference to the work on the Mole, "wherein is only exprest just matter of fact touching that affair, and to the end the truth may be more evident in relation to the advance and progress of y^e Mole into the Sea."

No further survey seems to have been made till 1673, when one was made by order of the Governor, which was executed in his presence and "with most of his Office, and with the Mayor and Aldermen of this Citty." This survey certifies that the work had proceeded four hundred and thirty seven yards, "besides fortie y^{ds} furthur out of Foundation."

The winter ending the year 1674 brought home to Sir Hugh news of serious breaches in the Mole. He at once offered to the Lords Commissioners to undertake to repair the damages done by the storms, and, further, to carry on the work another hundred yards into the sea, and to finish it in six years. He proposed to do this for the annual establishment allowed, and to give security year by year for the sums of money given for the work. Mr. Shere offered as a counter scheme to undertake the work for £10,000 less then the sum named by Sir Hugh, and proposed to construct the Mole with immense upright chests, as he maintained that that plan would best resist the "reflux seas that have in the last storms been so damaging to the work." Sir Hugh had by this time given in his adhesion to the chest system, but he still maintained that it could not be used with safety unless the force of the seas were broken with a sort of sea beach erected in front of the Mole. In view of the heavy weather rendering it difficult to put large chests close enough, he advocated the use of small chests. Proposals were sent in also by other Engineers, who offered to undertake the work at a cheaper rate than Mr. Shere, and to give £60,000 security. Mr. Shere's proposals werẽ however accepted, and he was entrusted with the work, and offered a reward of £2,000 if he succeeded, and nothing if he failed.

Three sketches were sent home by Mr. Shere in February, 1675,

* A Short Account of the Progress of the Mole at Tangiers, pp. 4 and 5.



A SURVEY OF THE MULE AT LANGILS 10/11.
(from the original drawing in the Royal Library at Windsor)

The authors are indebted to the referees for their valuable comments.

* *Abstracts of the Proceedings of the Molecular Crystals, pp. 4 and 5.*

—An Exact Plotte of the Mole at Tangier-1671.—

Contending a Survey thereof taken the 8th of Feb^r 1671 by us the Com^{rs} therunto appointed by his Ex^{ty} the Earl of Middleton on the report & of Hon^{ble} Sir Hugh Cholmeley Bart^{on} in relation wherein is only express^d of fact touching that offence to the end the truth may be the more evident in relation to the advance & progress of work into the Sea and y^e other additional works

The measure of y Mole hath allways commenced at y foot of Battery under Yonk Castle marked with ye letter A & was surveyed in July 1669 & found to be in length 378 yds which is ye just measure thereof from A to B upon measuring time

From A to C is the length we now find by this Survey containing 121.42 & 2 foot to f high water mark which is of strike line. By which it appears that if whole body of Mele is complet^{ly} advanced unto Sea from B to C which makes 48.5^d

The extent of the foundation is from C to D, making about 27th most of which appears at a low water & is all roundly protected. The rows of Pylons for the more commodious building the Sydærs & carrying out next summers works, bring a well settled sub-

stantial foundation for ^{the} same. ^{As} To the seaward for protection of Mole from rage & violence of stormy weather is built 48 Pillars or artificial rocks wrought in flames with stones of two & three ton apiece & substantially sound with iron for the frame, as well as timbered, which row of Pillars & Piles without them

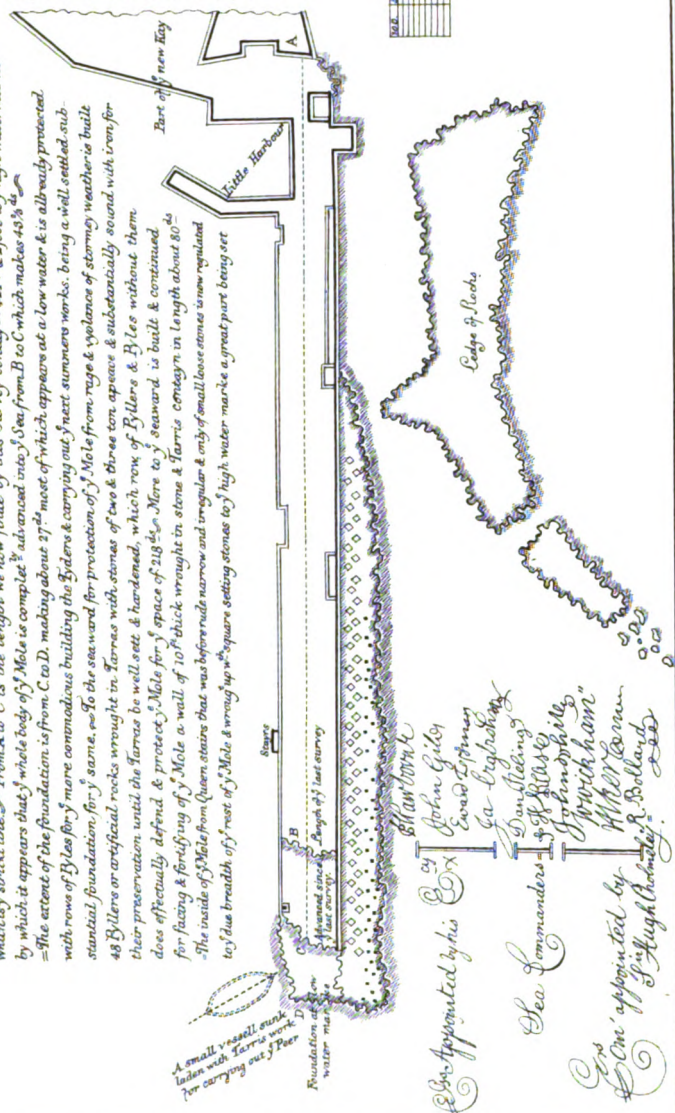
does effectively defend & protect.⁶ Mole for space of 14th to 15th Mole to 17th Mole to 19th Mole to 21st Mole to 23rd Mole to 25th Mole to 27th Mole to 29th Mole to 31st Mole to 33rd Mole to 35th Mole to 37th Mole to 39th Mole to 41st Mole to 43rd Mole to 45th Mole to 47th Mole to 49th Mole to 51st Mole to 53rd Mole to 55th Mole to 57th Mole to 59th Mole to 61st Mole to 63rd Mole to 65th Mole to 67th Mole to 69th Mole to 71st Mole to 73rd Mole to 75th Mole to 77th Mole to 79th Mole to 81st Mole to 83rd Mole to 85th Mole to 87th Mole to 89th Mole to 91st Mole to 93rd Mole to 95th Mole to 97th Mole to 99th Mole to 101st Mole to 103rd Mole to 105th Mole to 107th Mole to 109th Mole to 111st Mole to 113rd Mole to 115th Mole to 117th Mole to 119th Mole to 121st Mole to 123rd Mole to 125th Mole to 127th Mole to 129th Mole to 131st Mole to 133rd Mole to 135th Mole to 137th Mole to 139th Mole to 141st Mole to 143rd Mole to 145th Mole to 147th Mole to 149th Mole to 151st Mole to 153rd Mole to 155th Mole to 157th Mole to 159th Mole to 161st Mole to 163rd Mole to 165th Mole to 167th Mole to 169th Mole to 171st Mole to 173rd Mole to 175th Mole to 177th Mole to 179th Mole to 181st Mole to 183rd Mole to 185th Mole to 187th Mole to 189th Mole to 191st Mole to 193rd Mole to 195th Mole to 197th Mole to 199th Mole to 201st Mole to 203rd Mole to 205th Mole to 207th Mole to 209th Mole to 211st Mole to 213rd Mole to 215th Mole to 217th Mole to 219th Mole to 221st Mole to 223rd Mole to 225th Mole to 227th Mole to 229th Mole to 231st Mole to 233rd Mole to 235th Mole to 237th Mole to 239th Mole to 241st Mole to 243rd Mole to 245th Mole to 247th Mole to 249th Mole to 251st Mole to 253rd Mole to 255th Mole to 257th Mole to 259th Mole to 261st Mole to 263rd Mole to 265th Mole to 267th Mole to 269th Mole to 271st Mole to 273rd Mole to 275th Mole to 277th Mole to 279th Mole to 281st Mole to 283rd Mole to 285th Mole to 287th Mole to 289th Mole to 291st Mole to 293rd Mole to 295th Mole to 297th Mole to 299th Mole to 301st Mole to 303rd Mole to 305th Mole to 307th Mole to 309th Mole to 311st Mole to 313rd Mole to 315th Mole to 317th Mole to 319th Mole to 321st Mole to 323rd Mole to 325th Mole to 327th Mole to 329th Mole to 331st Mole to 333rd Mole to 335th Mole to 337th Mole to 339th Mole to 341st Mole to 343rd Mole to 345th Mole to 347th Mole to 349th Mole to 351st Mole to 353rd Mole to 355th Mole to 357th Mole to 359th Mole to 361st Mole to 363rd Mole to 365th Mole to 367th Mole to 369th Mole to 371st Mole to 373rd Mole to 375th Mole to 377th Mole to 379th Mole to 381st Mole to 383rd Mole to 385th Mole to 387th Mole to 389th Mole to 391st Mole to 393rd Mole to 395th Mole to 397th Mole to 399th Mole to 401st Mole to 403rd Mole to 405th Mole to 407th Mole to 409th Mole to 411st Mole to 413rd Mole to 415th Mole to 417th Mole to 419th Mole to 421st Mole to 423rd Mole to 425th Mole to 427th Mole to 429th Mole to 431st Mole to 433rd Mole to 435th Mole to 437th Mole to 439th Mole to 441st Mole to 443rd Mole to 445th Mole to 447th Mole to 449th Mole to 451st Mole to 453rd Mole to 455th Mole to 457th Mole to 459th Mole to 461st Mole to 463rd Mole to 465th Mole to 467th Mole to 469th Mole to 471st Mole to 473rd Mole to 475th Mole to 477th Mole to 479th Mole to 481st Mole to 483rd Mole to 485th Mole to 487th Mole to 489th Mole to 491st Mole to 493rd Mole to 495th Mole to 497th Mole to 499th Mole to 501st Mole to 503rd Mole to 505th Mole to 507th Mole to 509th Mole to 511st Mole to 513rd Mole to 515th Mole to 517th Mole to 519th Mole to 521st Mole to 523rd Mole to 525th Mole to 527th Mole to 529th Mole to 531st Mole to 533rd Mole to 535th Mole to 537th Mole to 539th Mole to 541st Mole to 543rd Mole to 545th Mole to 547th Mole to 549th Mole to 551st Mole to 553rd Mole to 555th Mole to 557th Mole to 559th Mole to 561st Mole to 563rd Mole to 565th Mole to 567th Mole to 569th Mole to 571st Mole to 573rd Mole to 575th Mole to 577th Mole to 579th Mole to 581st Mole to 583rd Mole to 585th Mole to 587th Mole to 589th Mole to 591st Mole to 593rd Mole to 595th Mole to 597th Mole to 599th Mole to 601<

For facing & fortifying of a wall of 10' thick wrought in square & also to convey in a trench
The inside of Male from Queen streets that was before made narrow and irregular & only of small loose stones is now regulated
to a full breadth of 12' of Male & wrought in square setting stones to a high water mark a great part being set

[illegible]

Also from there is continued y new key on way to y towne the greatest part was therof performed by carres and workmen of y Mole Also upon y Mole is built a large dwellinghouse with granarys on y upper floor

Also lodgings for 50 men and their families together with substantial Court of Guards and a new strong gate and barrier leading to Whitby and a battery flanking the same.



A SURVEY OF THE MOLE AT TANGIERS 1671.
(from the original drawing in the Royal Library at Windsor)

showing "1st The state of y^e Mole after y^e repayre of y^e last years damages. 2nd The state of y^e Mole with y^e damages of this winter; and 3rd A description of y^e Mole repayed with chestwork from without, being designed with respect to y^e gayning more roome, the present work pinching it in." *

A draft of the Mole, 31st March, 1675, shows the damage done by the winter of 1674, several breaches having been made; the first being at three hundred yards from the bastion under York Castle, "from whence the measure of the Mole begins."

The great force of the wind and the waves during the past winter is shown by the few piles left standing. A vessel had been sunk at the end of the work 480 yards from the commencement of the Mole, to form a foundation, in fact, it had been made use of as a large chest, its timbers forming a very substantial structure to hold together the stones piled within it. This is stated to be the vessel captured by Captain Hammond. A curious drawing made later in the same year shows the Mole and its armament, thirty-four guns on that part of the Mole towards the sea, eleven guns pointing inside of the Mole, three guns along the Mole, and six guns on York Castle, and glacis of same. Another sketch, dated the 15th July, represents the Mole completed up to 433 yards, but shows the armament to be only thirty guns, twenty pointing towards the sea, and ten inside of Mole. The depth of water at the return end of the Mole at low water was twenty-eight feet.

The difference between Sir Hugh Cholmley's and Mr. Shere's plans seems to have been—divested of all minor considerations—that the former from his experience believed it would be impossible to build a safe permanent structure without a breakwater in front of it; while Mr. Shere, enamoured of the great chest principle, urged that the work could be done with great upright chests alone. The results of both plans shows that a combination of the two would have been proper; for the small chests, pillars and piles, of Sir Hugh were not sufficient to resist the great power of the waves, while the great chests of Mr. Shere could not be handled in such a way as to place them close together, so the seas broke in between and damaged and broke them. † A report was sent home in March, 1676, by

* Tangiers Plans in the Royal Library at Windsor.

† In the Historical MSS. Records¹ is a note of the answer of Sir Hugh Cholmley to "inquiries for his Maties satisfaction concerning the most effectual method of finishing the said Mole," and from this paper it would appear that the King had resolved by his mandate to commit the care and conduct of the Mole entirely to Mr. Shere.

¹ Historical Manuscript Commission, Ninth Report, Part II., p. 450.

his Majesty's command, to show the real state of the Mole, and it was taken under the superintendence of the then Governor, the Earl of Inchiquin. It shows breaches one hundred yards to the eastward of the great chest, the facings to the outside of the Mole being fallen down and reaching within the Mole from seventeen to twenty-six feet, with a gradual descent to the seaward. "To the eastward of the great chest five chests sunk this year are shattered, but the greatest part of them yet remayne. The chest at the end remaynes entire with the two other small chests placed to the southward for securing the end with the Tarris work upon them. The three tally chests sunk before the stormes remayne firm and entire. The Breakwater is much enlarged."*

A plan was made in this year and sent home for approval, of a little Mole, which was intended to be a kind of inner harbour or dock, with wharves, custom house, stores, &c., but it does not appear that much was done in this matter afterwards.

The paper to which reference has been made,† and from which many particulars of the Mole are taken, appears to have been written by Sir Hugh Cholmley himself; for the writer says that whatever success Mr. Shere has had with his great chests, it is not possible to judge as to their ultimate success; the woodwork being necessarily so massive that the worm—so destructive to wood in those parts—cannot soon destroy the casing. The writer further says that if it is found—as he believes it will be—absolutely necessary to secure the great chests "by other lower chests set outwards towards the sea," then it will be directly according to Sir Hugh's plans, only at a far greater and needless expense by the cost of the great chests, which he contends would not be required, and which he says is plainly demonstrated by the solidity of the old work built without chests.

A further draft was sent home by Mr. Shere in February, 1676, showing in three sketches; 1st, the state of the Mole after the repair of last year's damages; 2nd, The state of the Mole with the damages of the present winter; 3rd, A description of the Mole repaired with chest work from without, with special reference to gaining more room. Outside the drawing is written "Mr. Shere's draft for repaying ye Mole with chest-work.‡ Mr. Shere also sent in the same month another plan, showing further details of his proposed chest repairs, with profiles from within and without.

The next month Lord Inchiquin, the Governor, sends home "a plan

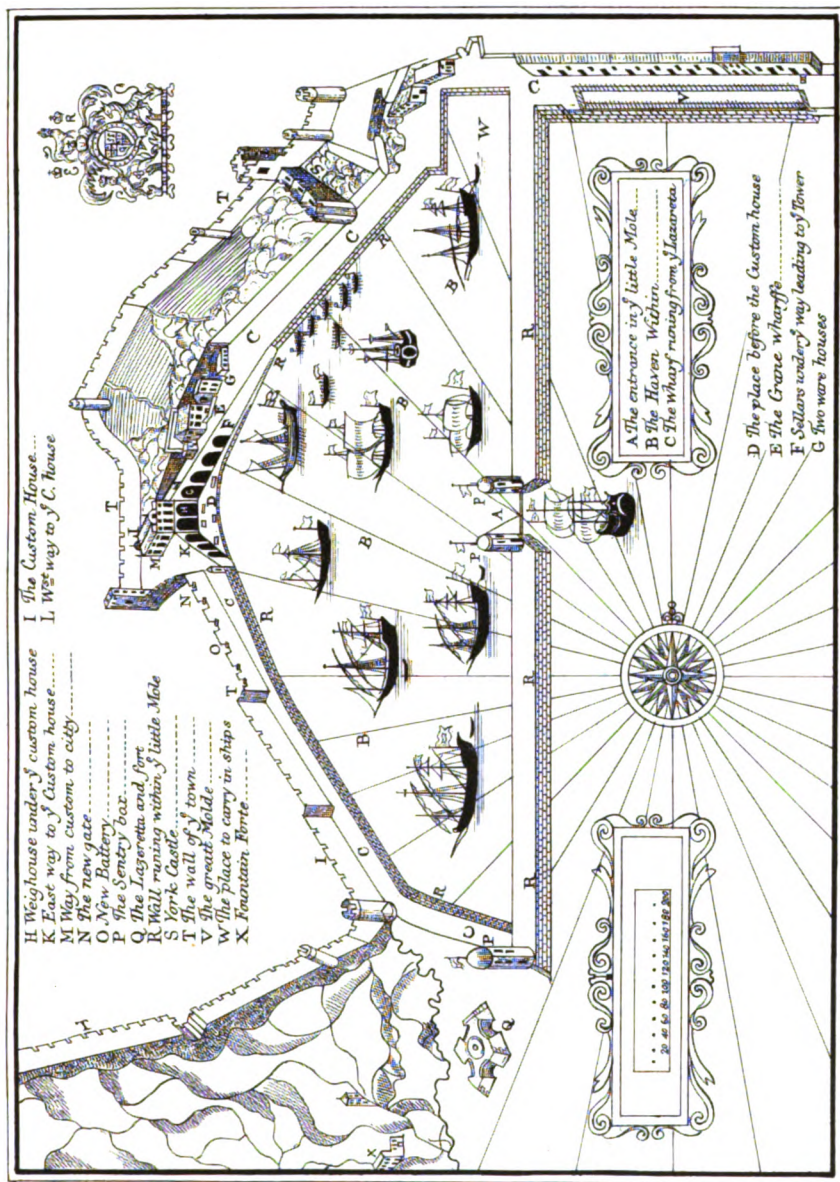
* Tangiers Plans in the Royal Library at Windsor.

† A Short Account of the Progress of the Mole at Tangiers.

‡ Tangiers Plans in the Royal Library at Windsor.

[illegible]

Draught of y Little Mole wharfe and Custom house 1675.



Stanford's Geog. Etials, London.

THE LITTLE MOLE, SHOWING THE WHARF AND CUSTOM HOUSE 1675.
(from the original drawing in the Royal Library at Windsor)

showing the actual damage done by the storms of the winter. "To the eastward of the great chest five chests sunk this year are shattered, but the greatest part of them yet remayne. The chest at the end remaynes entire with two other small chests placed to the southward for securing the end with the Tarras work upon them. The three Tally chests sunk before the stormes remayne firm and entire."

Several drafts of the Mole were sent home in November. One sent with Mr. Shere's letter of 22nd November shows—1st, The state of the Mole as the last winter left it; and 2nd, the repaire of the breaches and damages by chest-work. The chests are named "Charles" (the outermost one), "York," "Peterborough," "Anglesey," "Coventry," "Old Chest," "Craven" (placed in a breach in the sloped works, or the narrowing of the width of the Mole), and a small chest "placed since ye survey." The total length completed of the Mole is given as 457 yards over all. Mr. Shere sent a further drawing and a letter of explanation on the 6th of December.

A great storm in January, 1678, further damaged the Mole, and a draft was sent home by Mr. Shere, with a letter, on the 28th, showing how he proposed to repair it. It is endorsed as having been received on the 24th of March.

A drawing was sent home by Sir Palmes Fairborne in April, and received on the 25th of July, showing what had been done by chest-work during the winter of 1677-8, and what was proposed to be done to protect the chest-work in the ensuing winter. A draft was also sent with this, showing "the state of the Mole upon the expiracon of the winter in the year 1676, the 'York' chest being the only piece of solid work that could be performed by Mr. Shere after his arrival for the security of the Mole before the winter came on, which chest being placed at the bend and most expos'd part of the work, manifestly preserved the length of the Mole." The drawing shows a considerable breach between "York Chest" and the "Old Chest," but the two chests are quite uninjured. The total length is given as 457½ yards.

The last drawing sent home is dated 14th November, 1679, and shows considerable progress in the works. This is the last record of the Mole in the Book of Plans, and there was doubtless a complete cessation of work on it about this time, as the Moors were storming the place with such determination, that all work except the necessary defence was obliged to be discontinued.

The chapter of the Mole cannot be more appropriately closed than by the letter of Mr. Shere to Lord Dartmouth, dated the 6th of December, 1683, in which he, after giving the particulars of the size

and weight of the materials, goes on to estimate the time it will take to demolish it. The length is given as 1,436 feet or $475\frac{1}{2}$ yards; the average width as 18 feet or 6 yards; cubical computation, 2,843,280 cubic feet; total weight, 167,251 tons. The letter is most interesting, and well worth being quoted entire :—*

“Tanger, y^e 6th Decembr, 1683.

“My Lord,

“Being confin’d by my Indisposition to my Chamber (whereby I feele more sensibly the Paine of my present Incapacity to yield yo^r Lord^p the effects of my Zeale to serve you abroad, in this Important Season, than the Irksomenesse of my Malady, which keepes me at home) I have been Meditating how I might Turne my Present vacant howres here to some Account to your Lord^p. And amongst other Reflections, it Occurs to me, to make a Tender to yo^r Lord^p (with humblest submission to your owne best wisdome and Judgment) of some Animadversions touching your Demolishing the Mole, A Worke Render’d soe slight and contemptible at home, That being beleiv’d by your Freinds, and Industriosly Inculcated by your Enemyes, it may afford Matter of Wonder and Disquiet to the One, and of Contemn^t to the other that you should be thus long detain’d about the Execution of a Commission which Melicious men have Labour’d to make, and Ignorant men been perswaded to believe an Enterprize of little or noe moment, which Falsehood and Mistake I shall with yo^r Lord^ps Leave by the following Calculations plainly Detect.

“I shall first (as neare as it can possibly be done) Cast the solid quantity of the Mole (as it stood upon yo^r Lord^ps arrivall) into Cubicall Feet, which I consider under these Dimensions Vizt—The Length of the Mole 1,436 Feet. The Meane proporcinall Breadth [for it consisted of various measures] I find to be about 110 Foot. The Meane Height from the Surface or Topp of the Mole, to the Low-Water Marke, I make to be about 18 foot, which measures being squar’d amounts to by Cubicall Computation 2,843,280 Solid Feet, which cast into Tuns are 167,251 Tuns.

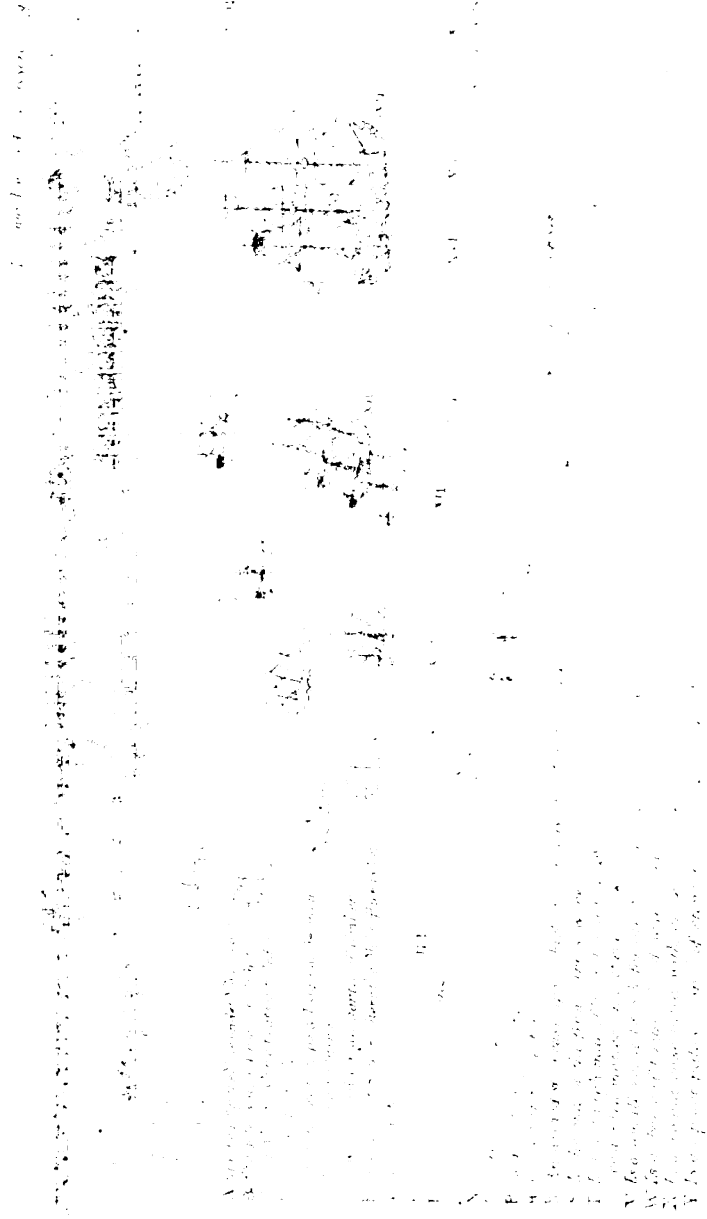
“Of this Quantity I calculate, That about 350,000 Cubicall Feet is Tarras Worke wrought in Chests &c. which makes 25,000 Tuns, at least; And this Worke by reason of its being soe bound in chests with Timber and Iron, and soe well Perform’d and of soe good Materialls, is by all People agreed to be (and indeed is found) more difficult to Demolish, than soe much Solid Rock.

“Now (My Lord) havinge plainly and modestly sett downe the Quantity and Nature of the worke to be perform’d, I shall in the next place proceed to consider y^e utmost strength and meanes, that the Fleet and Garrison &c. (as far^t as is consistent with the safety of both) can afford towards the Carrying on, and effecting this great undertaking, from whence a very plaine and easy Rule will be produc’d whereby to make a Judgm^t of y^e Time wherein the worke may be done, Takeing in, and weighing such needful Circumstances as may occasionally Intervene, towards the furtherance or Impediment thereof.

“Your Lord^p after haveing Maturely Deliberated, upon what Garrison was necessary for the Security of the Towne, and Forces with a due Regard to all that might happen through the Treachery of a Barbarous, Jealous, and Watchfull

* Dartmouth MSS., 1683.

CANCER MOLLUSC



(from the original drawing in the Royal Library at Windsor)

of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*,
Chicago, Ill., Sept. 10, 1912, p. 1261.
The following is a translation of the original
German text, which is a letter from the
author to the editor of the *Journal*, dated
Sept. 10, 1912, and is published in the
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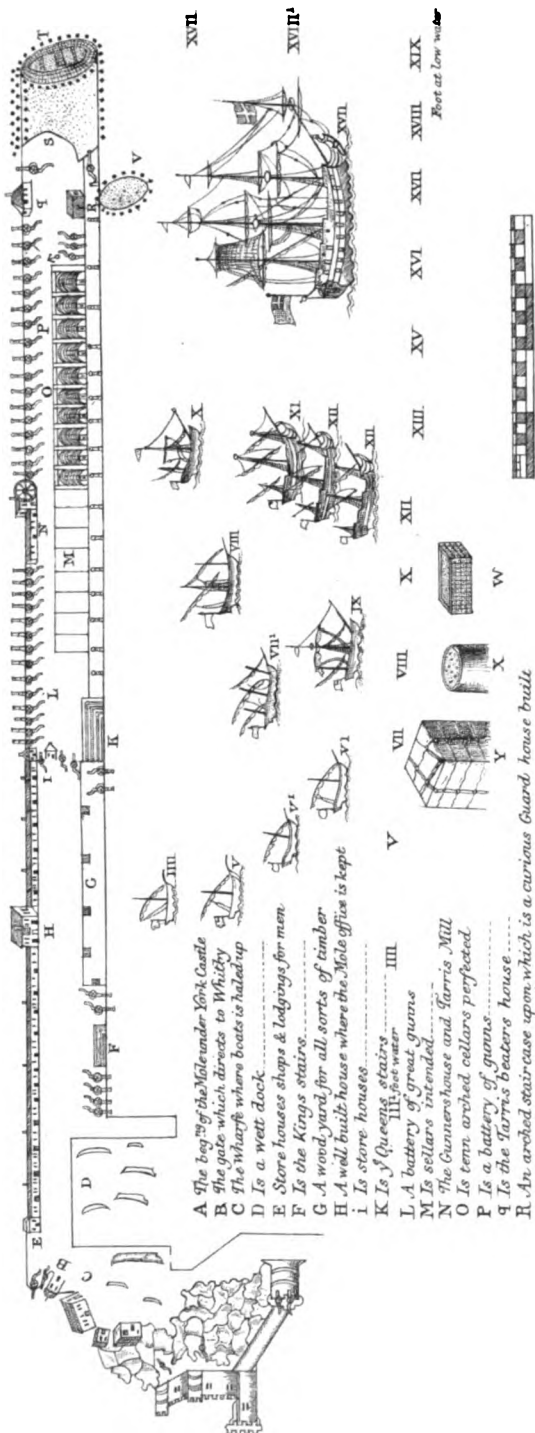
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TANGER MOLE 1675.--

Four hundred and seventy yards long



A scale of a hundred yards

Placed at the outside of the Mole

A PLAN OF THE MOLE AT TANGIERS IN 1765.
(from the original drawing in the Royal Library at Windsor)

Standard's copy, Eschsch, London

Neighbour Encamp'd wth an army almost under yo^r walls ; And weighing with the same Providence, the Safety of the Fleet (under yo^r Comand in a bad Road and Winter Season) Proceeded to allott to the workes of the Towne and Mole, such a Proporen of Workmen as could possibly (with the aforesaid Regards and Cautions) be spared. And to the Workes of the Mole I reckon, of all Sorts may be assign'd about 1,000 men dayly at most, of which number I make accompt 400 are constantly employ'd in Removeing and Carrying away Stone and Rubbish, The rest in Cutting of Stone, Tending, Filling, and the like ; which 400 men (according to the best Judgment I can make) will Ridd and Carry away about 800 Tun dayly, after the Rate of 2 Tun a day p^r man, which Quantity p^r Diem being considered and cast by the whole solid content of the Mole aforementioned being 167,251 Tunns, the Quotient wilbe the Dayes wherein such a number of men wilbe able to performe the said service, which I find to be 209 Dayes. The space (by the Calculation I here make) wherein (by the said Forces) may be removed, and carryed away the said Quantity which is the Body of the Mole downe to Low Water Marke, And the Matter thereof too consider'd barely as soe much Loose Stone and Rubbish, not comprehending the addiconall Difficulty of Demolishing the Tarras Worke, and Cemented Matter of the Chest-worke of the Mole, which requires besides great Mines, at least 1,500 small Mines by Drills and other more Troublesome Methods, to Destroy and Demolish it, For the performance of w^{ch} extraordinary worke may very well be allotted an addicon at least of 25 Dayes to the Time above noted.

" To the Grosse Content of the Mole here sett downe to be demolish'd and carry'd away wee may Reckon upon a great Quantity of Rocke and Loose Stones, that were Lodg'd on the backside of the Mole, Which when the Sea finds a passage, by the Cutts or Channells, wilbe driven forward, and cast up by the Force of the Waves into the said Channells, till they are brought downe to Low-water Marke, which to carry away, is an addiconall Labour to what is already Observ'd and out of our Power to compute, Saveing that it may be reasonably Conjectur'd to be very considerable.

" What I presume further to add is, That it is to be adverted That foule and Rainy Weather (incident to this Season of the Yeare, wherein men cannot worke as they ought, and for many dayes together perhaps not at all) is a Contingence to be taken in.

" My Lord, If amidst the variety of yo^r other Cares any part of these Animadversions should chance to have been unremark'd and shall prove of use to yo^r Lord^{sh}, yo^r Goodnesse will I trust Permitt it to attone for the Trouble herein given you by

" May it Please yo^r Lord^{sh}

" Yo^r Lord^{sh}'s most Dutifull humble Serv^t,

" WILL. SHERE.

Endorsed :

" Mr. Sheeres Dec 6th,

" 1683."

CHAPTER IX.

SUCCESS OF THE MOORS, AND SURRENDER OF THE FORTS.

FROM JANUARY TO OCTOBER, 1680.

CONTENTS.—Arrival of Four Companies—Lord Middleton's accounts—The Moors renew the attack—Return of Fairborne—Moors entrench themselves—Isolation of the Forts—Use of Speaking Trumpets—Mines and Countermines—Desperate attack on Forts—Galleries and Stinkpots—Ruinous state of the Defences—Activity of the Moors—Demanded surrender of Pole Fort—Gallant refusal of the Garrison—Surrender of Henrietta Fort—Retreat of Garrison from Charles Fort—Disastrous struggle and great slaughter—A Truce for Four Months—An Express sent Home for help—Review of the Garrison—Despatch of Troops from Home—Moors supplied by Englishmen—Lord Plymouth and Lord Mordaunt—The Duke of Marlborough—Arrival of Troops from Ireland—Earl of Ossory appointed Governor—His Death—Hostilities renewed—The Guards and the Scotch Regiment—Three days' fighting.

THERE appears to have been an arrival of some troops this year, though there is no mention of them in the Tangiers papers; but a Royal Warrant, dated 2nd June, 1680, relating to the troops then being dispatched, refers to four Companies sent in 1679, which were to be incorporated with the twelve already existing of the Tangiers Regiments, and the whole sixteen Companies were to be divided into two Battalions of eight Companies each.*

A curious document was issued this year, dated the 31st of October, being a settlement of the accounts of "John, late Earl of Middleton, dec^d in relation to his Government of o^r city of Torngier," in which it is shown that he had received from divers sources a sum of £38,740 3s. 6d., and dispensed £32,205 6s. 11d.; amongst other items being charges for "spies, redemption of captives, presents to the Moors in reference to peace." The King and his Council declare themselves very much satisfied with the accounts, and, in consideration of the many good and faithful services of the late Earl

* Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards, by Colonel Mackinnon, Vol. II., p. 285.

and the low condition of his family, they remit the arrears owing, amounting to £6,534 16s. 7d.*

The year 1680 is a memorable one in the history of the English occupation of Tangiers, for before its close the Garrison had to fight desperately to hold the place. The Moorish Emperor, Muley Ishmael, had been resting after the many fights with his relations, and had been occupying his time with embellishing his palaces and organising his black troops. He could not long remain without fresh enterprises, and the year had not far advanced when he sent a large body of troops to our old enemy the Alcaide, or Governor, of Alcazar, Omar Ben Haddn, or Hadden, with instructions that "he was to drive us out of the place." It was fortunate for the Governor and the Garrison that Sir Palmes Fairborne returned at this time; for with his experience, in the tussels with the Moors, his undaunted courage and his indefatigable industry, he was a host in himself, and he inspired confidence in all by his bold and dashing conduct. He arrived out on the 8th of April, and just a fortnight before the date of his arrival the Moors had begun the siege. On the 25th of March they appeared in great numbers, near Charles, Henrietta, and Giles Forts. Orders were at once issued by the Earl of Inchiquin for assistance to be sent to Charles Fort, which was seen from the town to be surrounded, with "multitudes of Horse and Foot," and a company, with a captain, lieutenant, ensign, and seventy men, were sent out. The next day it was seen that during the night the enemy had made considerable progress towards entrenching themselves, and were making use of some small works which a party of them had not long before made from Kendall Fort to Pond Fort, and between Charles Fort and Henrietta Fort, with a line towards their old lines on Teviot Hill. They advanced these lines from Kendall Fort to the pond under Pond Fort, and from Teviot Hill to within "cast of a hand grenade of our stockados," and the lines towards Henrietta Fort "within half musket-shot of Charles Fort." The Garrison kept up a continual fire on the enemy from the forts, but their trenches were so deep that little injury was done to them. The Moors did not reply to our fire, but kept resolutely at work on their lines, which, by Sunday, the 28th, had advanced so far as to cut a gap in the old lines of communication between Charles and Henrietta Forts. They had also advanced the trenches from Pond Fort to the foot of a little hill between the former Fort and the Castle. By the middle of the next week the Garrison

* Audit Office Enrolments, 1673-1681, Vol. X., pp. 443, 444.

finding, by reason of the depth of the enemy's trenches, their shot could not take effect on the besiegers, erected a "Cavallier," or platform, thirty feet high, which would hold eight or nine men, and this considerably disconcerted them, as our shot from that elevation found them out and hindered their work. On Wednesday, the 31st of March, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the Moors planted eight of their colours in their lines, "one all red, under Kendall Fort, four with yellow stripes within pistol shot betwixt us, Charles Fort, and Henrietta Fort, also one all green, and two all red."* Captain Trelawny, the commander of the two Forts, irritated by this display, directed his guns on the obnoxious flags, and shot down the green one and tore another, which caused the enemy to remove them. They now commenced to curve round their lines so as to cut off the communications of the Fort with the town, and by the 6th of April they had cut through the line of communication. The next day they joined their two lines together, so that the Forts were now isolated from the Garrison. On Saturday, the 10th, the men in Charles Fort perceived between them and Henrietta Fort some sort of engines on wheels, but whether they were for shelter for their men from our shot or for other kind of work they could not discover.

Sir Palmes Fairborne writing home, on the 13th, to Sir J. Williamson, says he found the enemy "entrenched between Charles and Henrietta Forts and the town, and with a treble trench deep and broad," which we guess at least twenty feet, with several places of arms within their trenches; avenues from each to succour one another upon any sally which we should make against them, so formidable and so regular that no Christian enemy ever proceeded better or more resolutely."† He thereupon consulted with the Governor as to what had best be done to preserve the two Forts, with their garrison of 240 soldiers. Lord Inchiquin does not seem to have had the same apprehension of any immediate danger, as he told Sir Palmes that they were provisioned for five months, and had ammunition and ample stores, and he did not think it well to endanger a party to effect their rescue until they made a demand for help. The communication between the beleaguered Forts and the town was kept up by means of speaking trumpets. They spoke in Irish, to prevent the renegades in the camp of the Moors from understanding them. Sir Palmes Fairborne soon made out that they were directing a mine towards Charles Fort, and, sending notice of this to Captain Trelawny, the latter at once set to work upon a countermine,

* An Exact Journal of the Siege of Tangiers, 1680.

† Tangiers State Papers, No. 29, pp. 198-9.

which Sir Palmes, in writing home, expresses a hope that "they will be able to hold out until His Majesty sends succour both of Horse and Foot, at least 300 Horse and 200 Foot." He begs also that the allowance of the Mole may be applied to the fortifications of the town, which he considered ought to be undertaken at once, "or it will be too late."

Between eight o'clock on Easter Sunday and three o'clock on Monday morning, the 11th April, an attack was made, with great resolution, on Henrietta Fort. The Moors made use of galleries (these were the engines on wheels), with which they came close to the walls, intending to throw in their stinkpots if they could make a hole in them; but the soldiers in the fort defended themselves with so much bravery, and plied the Moors so hard with shot and hand-grenades, that at last they were forced to retire, leaving some of their ladders and galleries behind them, which were afterwards set on fire by the men in the fort throwing down fire-balls. Lieutenant Wilson, a sergeant, and thirty men, formed the garrison in the fort. Sir Palmes praises highly the conduct of both the lieutenant and his sergeant. A letter from Tangiers, in the *London Gazette*, dated the 12th of April, gives further particulars of the assault. The Moors "brought long booms, which they set against the walls, and put upon them fagots to shelter themselves whilst they endeavoured to mine the walls to blow them up." After the Moors were beaten off the commander let down four or five men from the walls with ropes, who set fire to the fagots and timber they left." The letter grimly states in conclusion, "he has hung out on a pole two Moors' heads." The long-continued barbarous practice of the Moors on our dead and wounded was, it seems, beginning to tell upon the habits of our own troops.

Sir Palmes again writes home, beseeching the Government to dispatch with all speed at least 1,200 of the Scotch Companies, as the Garrison is so badly armed—"not one spare arm in the stores except a few blunderbusses,"—that "if we come to a brisk action we shall be in great distress." He says, moreover, that he never saw a place more ruinous, "no one thing being in a condition fit for defence." A diary of the progress of the siege shows the Moors always busy extending their lines, making communications between them, and cutting their trenches deeper; the Garrison in Charles Fort galling them with hand-grenades thrown from a small mortar, which enabled them to get the grenades into the trenches. The Moors, to further protect their men, erected a "blind" of stones in front of their trenches towards the fort. Seventeen or eighteen colours were set up between the two forts and Peterborough Tower.

By the 4th of April Sir Palmes considered they had so well fortified themselves in their trenches that it would be very difficult to dislodge them, even with a force equal to their own, and unless the Garrison was very soon augmented he saw no prospect of relieving the forts, and great danger of the other forts sharing the impending fate of the two in question, when the town, in the condition it was in, would be no longer tenable.

The Moors owned to have lost a considerable number of men in the attack on Henrietta Fort, on the 10th and 11th of April. Vice-Admiral Herbert, who was at Tangiers, had met a French merchant from Tetuan, who gave him this information of their losses.

A communication had been made by Sir Palmes, who was now Commander-in-Chief, directing that all the operations between Pole Fort and Norwood Redoubt should be made by a covered way. He also planted palisades round the counterscarp in front of Peterborough Tower, in order to make good a retreat in case they made a sally upon the Moors for the relief of the forts, but he delayed this enterprise until he should receive succour from home. He writes that he is daily disbursing his own money for paying the men "that work abroad" as well as men hired to make "fireworks and fitting hand-grenades." Captain Giles had been industriously preparing a battery at the near end of the Mole, and a small redoubt was being made under the foot of the Castle. The Moors seem to have made up their minds that their entrance to the town, if they could take it, would be by Whitby. A small fort to westward of that place was untenable, as they had begun a trench towards the burying-place over Whitby, and this trench not only cut off the communication with the fort, but defended and flanked their line to the middle of the lane to Charles Fort.

On the morning of the 29th of April the sentries on the walls of the town noticed a considerable movement of the enemy, most of whose troops had been drawn up under Teviot Hill, out of sight of Charles Fort. The signals from Pole Fort, from whence the Moors could be seen, gave notice that apparently an attack was impending on Charles Fort. Sir Palmes at once proceeded to Pole Fort, and noticed the leaders or principal officers riding about from one body of troops to another, as if to encourage them. He also saw them carrying timber and stones to a place which he concluded was the entrance to the mine, no doubt to close it previous to exploding the charge. After two hours' work at this, 200 of the black soldiers of the Moors were sent into the trenches to be ready for the breach. A flag of truce was now sent up, and a parley demanded by the Moors; an answering flag being set up on the Fort. A renegade Englishman

and a Frenchman from Tetuan were then sent by the Moors to inform the garrison of the Fort that it was undermined, and summoned the garrison to surrender as prisoners of war, "all to be slaves," or they would at once be blown up. Captains Trelawny and St. John at once returned answer that he was to do his worst, "they were sent to maintain the Fort and not to yield it." The Alcaide sent again to ask the commanders to examine their mine, in order that they might see the danger. Two miners were sent, and, on their return, another answer was sent that "they would stand it out to the last."* On this reply, which was accentuated by a volley of shot from the Fort, and a pounding from the great gun, the Moors made preparations to fire the mine, and the garrison, in bravado, hoisted their flags to show their disdain of the threats of the Moors. At eight o'clock the mine blew up (another account says between three and four o'clock), but fortunately little or no damage was done to the Fort. Sir Palmes, who was anxiously watching events from Pole Fort, as soon as the mine blew up and the smoke cleared away was delighted to find the Fort safe and sound, and he was "saluted with three ringing shouts from the Fort as a sign that all was well." It was calculated that at least forty barrels of powder remained, but as it had taken them about a month to prepare it, the Garrison considered that they would not be able to make a renewed attempt till succour arrived from England. While this affair was progressing, a Moor was seen to run towards the town from the enemy by the shore. He was taken at once to the Governor, and upon being examined said he belonged to Tetuan, and, having killed his brother, he had fled to escape justice. Upon being asked the strength of the Moorish army, he said that it was "all the country could afford, besides some thousands of the king's army of blacks;" and that, having lost so many men at the assault on Henrietta Fort, they did not intend to attempt anything of the kind again, but would destroy the Forts by mines. On the 30th of April, the Alcaide sent a letter† to Sir Palmes, in which, after the usual Moorish compliments and boasting, he says, that as the King his master had "subdued all his enemies at his heart's desire, and is returned in peace to his house," yet he has commanded the Alcaide not to return from Tangiers until he has reduced all the Forts round the town, and that although the mine has failed once, another time it will take effect, and that he was there "for a long life or for a short one," but he would carry out his king's behest. Sir Palmes replied to

* An Exact Journal of the Siege of Tangier, 1680, p. 4.

† Tangiers State Papers, No. 29, pp. 206-7.

him that as at present the Earl of Inchiquin commands the Garrison he cannot "answer him to any business;" but he "doubts not in time he, the Alcaide, will have the opportunity of seeing him in the fields to the honour and glory of his King." On the 8th of May, the Moors were seen hauling a gun on to a small hill near Henrietta Fort, the shot from which, after missing the Fort, went into the town. They were found to be only $2\frac{1}{2}$ -lb. balls, so it was judged to be the small falcon gun captured some time before from Ann Fort. On the 9th of May the Henrietta Garrison informed Captain St. John at Charles Fort, that the shot was taking effect on their walls, and that the Fort was undermined, and could hold out no longer. This was at once shouted to the town by a speaking trumpet, and the Garrison was informed that it would be necessary for both the Garrisons at Charles and Henrietta Forts to retreat to the town. A Council of War was at once called by the Earl of Inchiquin, and, after considering the desperate nature of an attempt to relieve the Forts by a sally from the town, it was thought best to try if honourable terms could not be made with the Alcaide.

Lieutenants Fitzgerald and Westcombe and Mr. Leddington were sent out under a flag of truce to treat, but the Alcaide refused all proposals except that of their surrendering at his mercy. This not suiting the temper of the English was at once refused. The Moorish troops now swarmed on our lines, one account placing the number at five or six thousand,* another account† gives the number as 3,500. Vice-Admiral Herbert seems to have been of great assistance to the Garrison in this crisis. He landed 100 men for the defence of the Mole, which he took under his especial care. The Alcaide, seeing now that the Forts were likely soon to be in his hands, became more arrogant; and it became a serious question whether he would not carry out his orders and be able to reduce all the forts, in which case Sir Palmes goes on to declare that "under the circumstances we are under for want of men, horses, and all the walls ruined and not defensible against either cannon or mining, after the enemy are become master of the out Forts, the town if vigorously prosecuted cannot hold out three months." He goes on further to say that he has often represented that this would be the fate of Tangiers, but that it is not even yet too late if the fortifications were completed that summer. At ten o'clock at night on the 12th of May, Captain Trelawny, at Charles Fort, called out to the town that they must be ready to assist them in their retreat, which

* An Exact Journal of the Siege of Tangier. 1680, pp. 4-6.

† Tangiers State Papers, No. 29, p. 208.

they had resolved to attempt at seven o'clock in the morning as they could hold out no longer. Lord Inchiquin desired that they should be ready by six, but they replied they could not be ready before seven. A Council of War was summoned, and then another, and it was resolved at all hazards to make a sally to assist the Garrison in its retreat to the town.

Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening of the 13th of May, Henrietta Fort surrendered to the enemy, and at four o'clock in the morning it was blown up by a mine, which carried away more than half the Fort. At about six in the evening the ill-fated Henrietta Garrison were observed being marched to the Alcaide's camp guarded by about 1,000 Moors. An Irishman, who had understood what had been spoken by the Charles Fort Garrison with the town, was forced to betray what he knew of their intention to force their way out. This unfortunate information enabled the Moors to be in readiness for our men, and they were observed by the men in Charles Fort and the town running to their trenches in large numbers. As the movements of our troops in the town could be easily seen in the open, the party of 480 men and officers—that it had been resolved in a Council of War should sally out of the town to assist Charles Fort in its retreat—were got into the upper castle in the evening. The troops were divided into five parties: Forlorn hope, main body, a reserve, and a right and left wing.

The Forlorn Hope was commanded by Captain Hume, second captain of the four Scotch companies which came from Ireland to Tangiers in the frigates *James* and *Swan*, and consisted of Lieutenant Pierson and Lieutenant Bayley, four sergeants and 80 soldiers.

The main body, 150 yards in rear of the Forlorn Hope, was composed of Major Boynton in command, Captain Giles, Captain Eiley, and Captain Winkfield, the subalterns being Lieutenant Talbot, Lieutenant Grimes, Lieutenant Bellinger, Ensign Dean and Ensign Adams; with four sergeants and 128 men.

The Reserve was 100 yards in rear of the main body, and was composed of Captain Muneresh (in command), Captain Bastin, Lieutenant Tate, Ensign Bowen and Ensign Withers; four sergeants and 104 men (six deep).

On the Right of the rear towards the burying place (about 40 yards) was Captain Leslie in command, with Lieutenant Ogleby and Ensign Winkfield; three sergeants and sixty-six men.

In the Ravelin, without Peterborough Tower, Captain Ross was in command, with Lieutenant Fitzgerald, Ensign Bowan; four sergeants and sixty-six men.

The Palisado, without the Ravelin, was lined with seamen, commanded by Lieutenant Sprag, with Lieutenant Fox.

"The *Bonnetta* sloop, two barkalongoes and ships' boats"* at the same time were ordered to be near Giles Fort (Devil's Drop) to endeavour to bring away thirteen men in it. Admiral Herbert was to direct the sea operations in the sloop.

At seven o'clock the garrison at the Fort, consisting of 176 men and Captain Trelawny's little boy, after having first spiked the guns, broken their arms, and put all the powder and the hand-grenades into the countermine, and also made their provisions and ammunition as unserviceable as possible, sallied out. The van was led by Captain St. John, with the Grenadiers leading, Captain Trelawny bringing up the rear. Before leaving the Fort, the train of powder having been carefully laid to the mine, with two inches of match to fire it, Ensign Richards, who was the last to leave the Fort, set fire to the match, and the mine blew up before the Garrison got to the first trench, demolishing the south-east bastion. At the same time the Forlorn hope commanded by Captain Hume advanced towards the trenches. The leading party from the Fort marched steadily on till they reached the first trench (there were three), for which they made a rush and both parties got safely over; they also passed the second trench, though they were being heavily pressed by the Moors, who now swarmed on their flanks and rear. The third trench was wider and deeper (twenty-four feet wide and fourteen feet deep) than the others, and was also difficult, in consequence of its being wet and muddy with the rains. This allowed the Moors time to come up to them, when a fearful struggle ensued. Out of 176 of the men who entered this living grave only thirty-nine escaped, fourteen and poor Captain Trelawny's little son were made captives, and the rest, to the number of 123 or 124, were cut to pieces. Captain Trelawny was killed as he was climbing up the trench at the other side, one account says while helping up his son. Captain St. John, Lieutenant Clause, and Ensign Roberts, escaped unhurt out of the trenches.

While this struggle was proceeding another party of the Moors issued out of their trenches and endeavoured to get between the Forlorn hope and the main body of the troops from the town. Captain Hume defended himself so bravely that he brought his assailants to a stand; one of the Moors' horsemen knocked him over, but the Moor losing his seat was at once dispatched. The

* A Letter from Tangier Bay, 17th May, 1680, pages 6 and 7.

Forlorn hope were for a few moments in great peril, for the main body and reserve gave way, and had it not been for the gallantry of the remnant of the Charles Fort garrison, who faced about, led by their brave commander, Captain St. John, it would have gone hard with them. Captain St. John behaved very gallantly, for he remained while he got his party together after they had fought their way over the last trench, and in the retreat from thence after assisting the Forlorn hope he was badly wounded by a shot in his side under the bladebone. On further inquiry as to the conduct of the main body and reserve, it appeared that Major Boynton, Captain Ely, Lieutenants Grimes and Bealing, with a few men, kept their ground till the Forlorn hope reached them in their retreat. Ensign Adams also rushed up to the Forlorn hope and did such good service that he was promoted on the spot, to Lieutenant, for his gallantry. Captain St. John and Captain Hume, and the rest of the officers in the Forlorn hope, were particularly recommended for notice by Sir Palmes in his report of the fight. Ensign Bayly and fifteen privates in the Forlorn hope were mortally wounded. Captain Hume was shot in the leg, Captains Ely and Moncrieff were slightly wounded in the legs, and Ensign Carr shot through the wrist. Amongst the losses of the Moors was an Alcaide of note named Garboose, and two others, besides several Almokadens or Captains, and a number of men and horses who led the party that tried to cut off the Forlorn hope. Vice-Admiral Herbert rendered valuable assistance in trying to divert the enemy's attention by sea with the sloop and boats, besides manning the counterscarp with his seaman. The thirteen men in Devil's Drop Fort were urged to retreat to the sea and swim off to his boats; but only one was able to swim, and the rest were captured when the Fort surrendered on the afternoon of the 14th. The other losses were one volunteer and ten men, besides twenty-two in the boats. The volunteer killed in the Adventurers' boat was named Wray, a brother of Sir Boucher Wray.* As soon as the Moors were in possession of the Forts they were able to unspike the guns, which had been hastily and badly done, and at once turned them on to Pole Fort and the town. They also raised a battery about a hundred and fifty yards south-west of Pole Fort, which they protected with the palisades from Charles Fort. This battery enabled the enemy's guns to bear

* A long and interesting account of this fight is found in the Dartmouth MSS. 1679-1680, in a letter from Povey to Colonel George Legge. Povey gives a bad account of the reserve giving way, but praises highly the gallantry of the Forlorn Hope, and all the men from the Fort, particularly Captain Sengen (St. John).

upon the Castle and upon the Governor's house. Lord Inchiquin, after the disastrous fight of the 13th of May, sent out a flag of truce for permission to bury his dead, which was granted by the Alcaide; who, however, took occasion to say that if his lordship liked to finish the war he could do so by delivering up all the Forts, as he, the Alcaide, did not intend to stir from there until he had reduced them all. Lord Inchiquin, in replying, thanked the Moor for his permission to bury his dead, and informed him that as to quitting the Forts "it did not consist with the King's honour or his own, and though they were not impregnable he would sell them as dear as he could." By the 19th, the enemy, having arranged their several batteries, and being now in possession of twenty captured guns, besides a mortar (thirteen guns were captured in Charles Fort, 3,300 hand grenades, and a large quantity of shot) it became a most serious question as to whether some terms had not better be arranged.*

Only three forts now remained to the Garrison, viz., Cambridge, Fountain, and Bridges Forts; all the rest had been taken or abandoned. The troops were seriously diminished and disheartened by their losses. The Moors, in the words of an eye-witness of the fights, had in four years from a cowardly and inconsiderable enemy "turned to a puissant and formidable foe." A Council of War was called to consider the desperate strait they were in, to whom Lord Inchiquin showed the offer of the enemy and desired to have their opinion. Some of the members replied that, considering the enemy's skill in gunnery and in mining, they did not think they could last three days; but Sir Palmes and others were for holding out. The Governor gave in his consent to Sir Palmes' proposition to make the most of their defences, and to fight to the last man. Captain Leslie, Lieutenant Fitzgerald, and Mr. Luddington, were then sent to the Alcaide to make the best terms they could, and most fortunately they were successful in obtaining, on the 20th of May, a truce for four months on the following conditions:—

1st. That Pole and Norwood Forts should be abandoned in three days' time.

* In the old Tangiers accounts is a curious writing ¹ of payments made at this time, one of £20 to "the Chirurgeon in Charles Fort, Tangier, for several Medicaments and Instruments of Surgery left there." Another item is £32 9s. for quarters and cure of sick and wounded soldiers of Earl of Plymouth's Regiment (Fourth King's Own now), also £50 2s. 7d. for two chests of old linen and one chest of Medicaments sent to him to Tangiers.

² Audit Office Declared Accounts, Bdl. 310, Roll 1, 226.

2nd. That the three remaining forts—Cambridge, Fountain, and Bridges Forts—should remain in our hands.

3rd. That the batteries raised by the Moors should be thrown down in three days' time, and the guns threatening the town removed.

4th. That liberty be given for the cattle to graze in the fields; and, lastly, that no new works or trenches were to be begun on either side.

Captain Leslie was shown the guns, and he and Fitzgerald the mine, and they gave on their return an ominous account of what they had seen. As to the mine, "they were bound to admit that it was as ingeniously carried out as anything they ever saw."

A writer,* in reviewing the whole position, sums up his remarks by saying, "All that we have to hope is these three things: either that the Moors will make a peace with us, as the Alcaide seems inclined, or that the King of the Country will be engaged in Civil Wars, and so have other occasion to employ his Force, or that our King will send such strong recruits as we may sally out and beat them from their trenches and great guns when next they shall besiege us."

As soon as the truce was arranged, Lieutenant Fitzgerald was sent home by express overland to give the King an account of their state. He left about the 26th of May. Sir Palmes, writing to Sir Leoline Jenkins, the Secretary, begs that there may be no delay in sending out troops both of horse and foot, as the design of the enemy to possess the town is fully shown in their absolute refusal to allow anything to be done in the way of fortification; though, at the same time, "upon a small consideration they would allow us to get stores for the Mole, which shows that they do not yet think the Mole good enough for them"!

The urgent necessities of the Garrison seems to have stirred up the authorities at home, for we find in the Ordnance Minute Books for May † continual entries of the dispatch of stores:—May 26th, hand-grenades, powder, and arms; 27th, rugs, blankets, beds, horse slings, shells, &c.; 29th, deals, timber, nails, saddles, pistols, holsters, carbines, belts, swords, bedding, blankets, &c.; drums for the use of the foot guards, arms and stores for 1,480 foot soldiers and 300 horse soldiers, 30 pieces of ordnance, &c., &c. As will be seen later on, before the

* A second Journal of the Siege of Tangiers, page 13.

† Ordnance Minute Books, May 6th, 1680; May 17th, 1681. Pages 8, 9, 11 and 12, to 129.

year was out a more desperate struggle had to be made, and the stores of men and materials came not a day too soon.

On the 27th of May Sir Palmes had a review of all the Garrison, and selected 146 old and maimed soldiers to be sent home.

The miners in the Moors' camp were found to be Turks from Candy, and very skilful. They had undertaken to undermine the Castle in twenty days, at any time when the Alcaide might choose to make the approach.

A letter had been received from the King through the Earl of Sunderland, in June, which put new hope into the Garrison, saying that both men and money would be at once despatched. The request to the Consul-General of Spain for assistance had also been replied to favourably.*

The Earl of Inchiquin, after postponing his journey, according to Sir Palmes' letters, "from ten days to ten days," left about the first week in June. The whole affairs of the Garrison were now in the hands of Sir Palmes, who was both Governor and Commander-in-Chief. He writes on the 27th of June to Sir Leoline Jenkins, giving evidence of the delivery of powder to the Moors at Sallee by a ship belonging to "one Holder," and he says another cargo had been sent there from the same firm. He is naturally indignant at this, and earnestly asks that inquiries be made into it, as it will be impossible to reduce the Moors to any reason while they are supplied with powder and other stores from England.

Great indignation had been aroused in England by the knowledge that our countrymen were thus helping our barbarous enemies, and it would have gone hard with the individuals in question had they been found out.

* The first intimation of the succour to be sent to the Garrison, was given in the Warrant dated 4th June, 1680, which gives particulars of the seniority of the troops about to be sent out. "The Comp^s and commanded (selected) men for Tangier to serve in battalions; that the five comp^s now going out of this Kingdom under the command of John, Earl of Mulgrave, shall have the first place as a battalion of Guards; that the four comp^s of the Scotch reg^t with the four other comp^s from Ireland make one battⁿ and take the rank of the said Scotch reg^t, that is to say next after the battalion of Guards; that when the rest of the said Scotch reg^t arrive there (with the four Scotch and four Irish comp^s already ment^d) make two batt^{ns} and take rank after the battalion of Guards; that the 12 comp^s of the Garrⁿ reg^t (Tangier) and the four English comp^s sent thither last year, make two batt^{ns}, and take rank after those of the Guards and Scotch regiment."—Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards. By Colonel Mackinnon, Vol. II. p. 285.

A writer, alluding to this disgraceful trade in terms of strong indignation, trusts "to see it punished as it deserves, and if our Laws prove defective in that particular, our Legislators may be humbly moved to find expedients on this behalf.*"

Charles Fitzcharles, Earl of Plymouth, a natural son of the King, by Catherine, daughter of Thomas Pegg, Esq., of Yeldersley, Co. Derby; and the famous Lord Mordaunt,† afterwards Earl of Peterborough, and nephew of the first Governor, both arrived out about this time, and did gallant service in all the actions. These two noblemen were notable examples of the spirit of the English gentlemen who volunteered to fight in any part of the world where their countrymen were engaged. They not only were in every fight on land, but when there appeared no chance of fighting they went out with the seamen after the Algerine Corsairs.‡

On the 17th of July news arrived from Gibraltar that 200 Spanish horsemen were being sent to the relief of the Garrison, and were within two days' march of that place, where they were to wait till ordered to leave for Tangiers. Sir Palmes, writing home on the same date, states that he had received a letter from the Alcaide, who seemed inclined for peace, but he is informed he has 8,000 men in the field, though very few are to be seen.

On the 30th, 600 men, in ten Companies of the Earl of Dumbarton's

* A Discourse Touching Tangier, London, 1680, and Tangiers State Papers, No. 29, pp. 218-19.

† Charles, Lord Mordaunt, was the son of John Mordaunt, famous for his signal and daring exploits during the Commonwealth, and he was one of the most active and able of those nobles and gentlemen who brought about the Restoration. Charles in gratitude raised him to the Peerage on 10th of July, 1659, the year before the Restoration. His son Charles, by the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Monmouth, inherited all his father's daring and zeal. The account of his life and adventures, is most fascinating. A writer of fiction would be thought to be recording impossibilities if he ventured to describe a character so varied and extraordinary, and one whose achievements in all directions were so remarkable. As a soldier, sailor, or politician, he equally excelled; while, when he was not engaged in duties, he was foremost in all kinds of pleasures and excesses. He succeeded his uncle Henry as third Earl of Peterborough, and has left in the history of his nation as strange and remarkable a biography as any man who has lived and taken part in it.

‡ John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, received his first Commission in 1666, when he was only sixteen, and his first active service was at Tangiers, where he served as a Volunteer (it is said) in 1666, but only for a few months, when he returned home.—The Military Life of John, Duke of Marlborough. By Archibald Alison, London, 1848, pp. 2, 3. "The retailers of anecdotes have also sought romantic causes for his first military expedition. Some assert that his

Regiment, arrived from Ireland in the *Ruby* and *Phoenix*, and two other ships. The ship *Garland*, with two more Companies, having sprung a leak, had to put back into Kinsale. Sir Palmes writes that He is "rejoyced to see so many brave men come over and to understand his Majesty's resolution to send more, whilst I doubt not will regain the place, and fortify it to his Majesty's satisfaction." *

The next day the Commander-in-Chief received a note in answer to an inquiry of his to the Alcaide, from which he gathered that the truce would not be prolonged, so he beseeches that this may be represented to his Majesty "that resolutions may be taken at home accordingly."

A treaty of peace seems to have been made about this time (August) between the Moors before Tangiers and the French, by which the latter nation agreed to help the Moors with powder and all sort of necessaries of war.

Sir Palmes now seeing that the Moors meant to make a final and desperate effort to capture the town, ordered over the Spanish horse from Gibraltar to a place on the coast called Barbutt, not far from Tangiers, which was the only place, he says, where horses could land with "convenience."

He states that he has been at great expense making all preparations for housing the troops, and he trust that money will be quickly sent for payment of these expenses and the arrears due to the Garrison. Great

comely person attracted the notice of the Duchess of York; others, that he captivated the Duchess of Cleveland, the King's mistress; and that the jealousy of one of the royal brothers was the cause of his temporary banishment to Tangiers, then a dependency of the British Crown, and besieged by the Moors. The absurdity of this tale is sufficiently proved by the shortness of his absence, and his recall by the Duke of York himself. Indeed it was perfectly natural that a high spirited youth, full of enthusiasm for his profession, should resign the pleasures of a Court, to acquire renown in the only theatre which was then open to British valour. His conduct proved that he was actuated by a native spirit of enterprise. He eagerly engaged in the frequent sallies and skirmishes which occurred during the course of the siege; and in this desultory warfare gave the first indications of his active and daring character."—Memoirs of John, Duke of Marlborough. By William Coxe, London, 1820, Vol. I., pp. 4-5.

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 29, p. 220. These are part of the troops referred to in the King's Warrant of 4th June. Three Companies of the Guards Battalion, Colonel Sackville's and Captain Bowes' Companies of the King's Regiment of Guards, and Captain Talmach's (sometimes spelt Talmarsh and Talmash) Company of the Coldstreams embarked at the Tower, and at Portsmouth, for Tangiers, afterwards followed by the Companies of Captains James Forbrey and Phil. Kirk.—Scott's British Army, Vol. III., p. 422 and 426-7.

discontent seems to have been caused by the troops sent from Ireland having had their pay advanced up to the 25th of September, while the unfortunate soldiers of the old garrison were still eighteen months in arrears.

Before the end of the month the Moors' forces were increased by the troops of the Alcaide of Tetuan, who had marched to assist in the siege with 500 horse and 500 foot. The Alcaide of Alcazar, who was in chief command, sent word to the Garrison that as they had provided in the town against the termination of the truce, so must he in the field, and if peace was not made every one "must look to themselves."

The Moorish Commander-in-Chief seems to have been very indignant at the King, his master, not having received a reply to a letter and an acknowledgment of the presents sent home by the Earl of Inchiquin to King Charles. Sir Palmes thinking no one in England could translate the letter, and begged "as he had sent recently the purport of the Alcaide's letter, that an answer with presents be sent at once." He suggests as presents fit for the Emperor "pistols, freizes, fine watches and clocks, fine cambric, fine holland, fine broad cloth (scarlet, green, and violet), and two fine cabinets, table and stands," all to be sent by first ship, so as to be ready in case of "closure" of peace.

Sir John Lanier, commanding the Tangiers Horse, having gone to England, he was ordered to attend a Council at Whitehall on the 25th of August, and, having explained the great distress the troops were in for want of due payment of their subsistence money, the Council gave instructions "that the money be paid, and also that all the men that are to go to Tangier should be dispatched with all possible speed."

Mr. Shere had, according to instructions from the Tangier Council, applied the funds of the Mole to the fortifications, and had been providing sufficient accommodation for the soldiers, the want of which in the past had been the principal cause of the unhealthiness of the troops.

A fear that sufficient cavalry might not be sent from England, brought an earnest appeal from the Commander-in-Chief not to curtail the original demands, as otherwise he could not guarantee any success against the Moors.

In July the Earl of Ossory, son of the Duke of Ormond, had been appointed Governor of Tangiers and General of all the Forces. This nobleman and great captain, who had done so great service to his country, seems to have thought that this appointment was to be the grave of his reputation. Lord Sunderland said in Council that Tangiers must necessarily be lost; but it was fit Lord Ossory

should be sent that they might give some account of it to the world." *

The Earl, as soon as he heard of the appointment, came up to London, and, meeting Evelyn on the 26th, at church, in the Privy Gallery, he told him of it. Evelyn "asked him if he would not call at his house (as he always did whenever he went out of England on any exploit)," but he suggested that they should dine together alone, as he wished to impart something to him. He afterwards showed him his letter to the Earl of Sunderland, in which he resented what had been said by the Earl in Council, and that he considered that he was to be cast away, "not only on a hazardous adventure, but in most men's opinion an impossibility, seeing that there was not to be above 300 or 400 horse and 4,000 foot for the Garrison and all, both to defend the town, form a camp, repulse the enemy, and fortify what ground they should get in." † The Earl took the whole matter so much to heart that he fell ill and died on Friday, the 30th of July. Evelyn gives a most touching account of the death of his friend, whom he describes as "a loving, generous, good-natured, and perfectly obliging friend;" and that he "deserved all that a sincere friend, a brave soldier, a virtuous courtier, a loyal subject, an honest man, a bountiful master, and good Christian, could deserve of his Prince and country." It was on the Earl that Ormond pronounced the beautiful eulogy, "I would not exchange my dead son for any living son in Christendom." ‡

Sir Palmes seems to have heard of the appointment of the Earl of Ossory about the end of August, as he writes home on the 26th that he is "very well pleased therewith," but he hopes that the small pittance of £500 per annum allowed him as Commander-in-Chief may not be taken away, nor yet his pension, § as things at Tangiers are three times as dear as in England, and that he has been "forced to take up moneys upon credit to maintain my table," in consequence of the great loss he sustained in setting out for Tangiers, and not having received a farthing of pay.

The Alcaide refused persistently to treat for peace, alleging as reason the non-receipt of a reply from the King of England to his master; on the 4th he sent word to the Commander-in-Chief that the truce would end on the appearance of the new moon, which was it

* Samuel Pepys and the World he Lived in. Henry B. Wheatley, F.S.A., p. 71.

† Evelyn's Diary. By W. Bray, F.S.A., 26th June, 1680, pp. 417-18.

‡ Samuel Pepys and the World he Lived in. Henry B. Wheatley, F.S.A., p. 72.

§ Tangiers State Papers, No. 30, pp. 222-26.

appears eight days sooner than the Garrison had calculated upon. Sir Palmes had been energetically preparing for the renewal of the war, but he was much hampered in his plans for want of sufficient cavalry. He had ordered Mr. Shere to make for him "several cheval de fries" to secure the flanks on first marching out, and he proposes to lodge within them bags of straw to secure his men "pretty well from the enemy's shot." Guns were removed from the batteries at the water side to the Castle, "the better to annoy the enemy; and am also raising ye battery from Johnson's to near Katrina Port, where we shall place a battery of 17 guns on ships' carriages." More great guns were to be placed on the town wall between Katrina and Irish battery. He writes home begging that 50 whole culverins and 24-pounders be at once dispatched; the enemy having only 12-pounders and demy culverins, he hopes to make great play with the heavier guns.*

Admiral Herbert had been dispatched for the 200 Horse for which he had promised to find accommodation.

A Council of War was held in the Garrison on the 8th of September, to consider the best manner of conducting the war until the remainder of the troops arrived.

It was resolved that they would wait until the enemy first proceeded to hostilities. Admiral Herbert had promised to land 500 seamen from the ships as soon as the garrison decided to march out.

On the 12th the ship *Swiftstakes* arrived with stores of war and provisions, and the welcome succour of 135 Horse in three troops. This raised the spirits of the gallant Commander-in-Chief. Their arrival was most opportune, for the Moors had declared their intention to begin war on the 15th, as, according to their calculation, the four months' truce was up on that date as they had reckoned in lunar months. The message of war was sent by Hamet (who seems to have been often employed in this service), and the Alcaide desired to know if "the King's answer had yet arrived?" Sir Palmes replied that "his declaration of war could never come in better season, being provided for him according to my heart's desire," but he conceived that the four months' truce was with a view to make a permanent peace, which if not effected the fault would be at his door. In

* According to the Ordnance Minute Books of this date, an unusual activity seems to have prevailed in the dispatch of stores to Tangiers, the powder match and bullet for the different regiments being specified in the proportions required for each.—Ordnance Minute Books, 1680, September 14th. 1681-2, January 10th, p. 16; and Tangiers State Papers, No. 30, p. 227.

conclusion he informed him that he had not received a reply from the King, but did not doubt it would be sent ere long.

On the 14th of September the Moors removed in the night the poles which had been placed to mark the bounds, and on the morning of the 15th they fired several shots at our sentinels on the walls of the town, which were "returned with great and small."

Having taken a few days to land the stores and get the newly arrived horses and men fit for service, by the 19th all was prepared. The whole of the troops of the Garrison were ordered to be ready drawn up on the parade at three a.m., on the morning of the 20th. Shortly after that time the Governor, Sir Palmes, Admiral Herbert, Colonel Sackville and Colonel Halket, arrived on the ground—Colonel Sackville commanding the Guards, and Colonel Halket commanding the Earl of Dumbarton's Regiment, addressing a few inspiring words to their men. Colonel Sackville, addressing them as "my good fellows," exhorted them to "keep close according to order, and to obey strictly the orders of their officers," and to act courageously like the King of England's Guards.*

At break of day the troops, having been massed by Catherine Fort, the Horse advanced, led by the Commander-in-Chief, who was accompanied by Lord Mordaunt and Mr. Shere. A dash was made for Pole Fort, which Sir Palmes and the Council of War had decided should be one of the posts which it was absolutely necessary to hold. To their surprise they found it unguarded; wheeling to the left they made for Monmouth Fort which they found also unprotected. Strong detached parties of Cavalry outposts were next placed covering the ground between Pole and Monmouth Forts. The Foot now marched out. It consisted of four battalions, and an advanced party, called the Forlorn Hope, of 200 men, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Tollemache, with Captain Lockhart as second in command; the Earl of Plymouth and several gentlemen volunteers being with them. The advanced party took up their post, covering on their right Pole Fort. Behind them, and on the skirt of the hill on which Pole Fort stood, Lieutenant-Colonel Sackville with the Guards Regiment was posted, forming the right of the line. On the left of the Guards came one battalion of the Queen's, commanded by Captain Giles, and further on the left, prolonging the line towards Monmouth Fort, came two battalions drawn out of the Earl of Dumbarton's Scotch Regiment, commanded respectively by Major Hackett and Captain Spott, and a

* History of the Grenadier Guards, by Lieutenant-General Sir F. W. Hamilton, K.C.B., Vol. I., pp. 241-2.

company of Grenadiers commanded by Captain Hodges. In case of a reverse the retreat was secured by the remainder of the Queen's—forming a second battalion—being posted within the stockades before Catherine Fort. This reserve was commanded by Major Boynton. The body of seamen, to the number of 500,* under Admiral Herbert, with Captain Barclay as Major, issued out of the town by the gate on the south-east side, called “Old Gate,” and covered the left flank, its left resting on Cambridge Fort. The latter at once commenced to entrench themselves.† The whole of these movements had been executed in such silence that the Moors were completely taken by surprise, and it was not until the party of men, appointed for the work under the direction of Major Beckman, the Engineer, had commenced to entrench the ground round Pole Fort, bringing up materials from Catherine Fort, that they took alarm, and they then came hurrying down in a confused manner, taking up the old lines between James and Monmouth Forts, and from this protection opened out a sharp fire upon the English troops. To protect the working party, and to draw out the enemy, detachments were taken from each of the battalions, and were sent forward to engage them at Ann and Kendall Forts, on the right front of the position taken up, and with orders to keep that flank clear for the working parties. The several battalions maintained their positions, and constant support and relief were sent to the advanced parties. The two battalions of the Scotch Regiment and the seamen then advanced, driving the enemy from trench to trench as far as a place called “Portugal Cross.” ‡

After seven or eight hours' fighting, in which the Musketeers of the several Battalions emptied three or four collars of bandoliers, about two in the afternoon firing on the part of the Moors ceased.

About eight p.m. the advanced parties were called in, and the working party having entrenched and stockaded a position sufficient to hold 500 men, the King's Guards were left in it, under the command of Colonel Sackville; the Lords Plymouth and Mordaunt, and most of the gentlemen volunteers, bearing him company. Colonel Tollemache, Captain Kirke, Captain Lockhart and Captain St. John, were the other Officers under him. Captain Hodges, commanding a party of Grena-

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 30, pp. 228-36.

† Another account of this day's actions, given by John Ross, gentleman, “a sentinell in the Foot Guards,” gives the number of the seamen as 600. This most interesting account of the fights in 1680 is called “Tangiers' Rescue,” by John Ross, &c.

‡ Hamilton's History of the Grenadier Guards, Vol. I., p. 243.

diers in the advanced parties in this day's action, is stated to have particularly distinguished himself.

The remainder of the troops, with the exception of the King's Battalion left to keep the position at Pole Fort, then retired into the town.

On the 21st, the troops marched out again and took up their ground in the same order, only that Major Boynton assumed command of the advanced (Queen's) battalion, Captain Giles, taking his place with the battalion at Catherine Fort, placed there to protect the retreat into the town. Further work was done in entrenching themselves and securing the position round Pole redoubt; they also pushed on their advanced parties to the ground where on the previous day the Moors had, to the right of Pole Fort, planted their colours and annoyed the Engineers at their work. The total loss in the two days fighting is stated to have been seven killed and eighteen wounded. The Horse had two troopers wounded, and two horses killed and two others disabled. Major Hackett, with Captains Hodges, Londey, and Hurne, were left with the troops to guard the position when the main body at night retired into the town.*

On the 22nd, the troops were again marched out, and took up the same ground, a party of Grenadiers of Admiral Herbert's men being sent to occupy the ground at Monmouth Fort. The Moors' Horse advanced resolutely to attack this post, but were received with such a heavy fire that they fell back with some little loss. The Scotch Regiment, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Tollemache, advanced to drive back the Moors, who appeared in great force on the left of Monmouth Fort, towards the sand hills; and several of the men of the Grenadier Company, "who were very active and daring," got a little too much in advance, when they were all surrounded and killed. Some of their comrades, seeing their desperate condition, rushed in, but too late to save them, and were themselves almost surrounded and cut off, only just managing to escape.† The Cavalry, on this day's fighting, which was severe, behaved admirably, protecting the flanks

* A Particular Account of the late Successes of His Majesty's Forces at Tangiers against the Moors. Tangiers, September 23rd, 1680, p. 3.

† A gallant feat was performed by a Lieutenant Arbuthnot, a Volunteer and Reformadoe, with a Corporal. One of the men of the Grenadier Company of the Scots Regiment, in endeavouring to capture one of the Moorish horses, whose rider had been killed, the horse proving restive, he was thrown, and while on his back was nailed to the ground with a lance and cut in pieces. Lieutenant Arbuthnot gallantly rushed out to recover the body, followed by the plucky Corporal, and both were mortally wounded.—*Tangiers Rescue*, pp. 13-15.

of the Regiment in their advance, and, when they saw a party in danger, dashing in and engaging the Moorish Cavalry with such courage that no ground was lost.

The enemy, being now in great numbers, and having taken note of our troops retiring into the town on the previous two days, planned to cut them off. The Commander-in-Chief, observing that strong bodies of the Moors had massed themselves on the right and left of the position, and concluding, from his early observation of their movements, that this would be a probable manœuvre, had had the foresight to place two hundred men, under the command of Major Hackett, in such a position that they would be able to hold the Moors in check until the troops were under the cover of the guns on the walls.

This service was well performed by the party, who, as soon as they perceived the Moors advancing, which they did immediately the retreat was ordered, poured such a destructive fire into their ranks, that they lost heart and turned and ran. The loss this day was eight men killed and twenty wounded.

The Moors seemed to have had reinforcements in the night, as they appeared in much greater numbers the next morning, and pressed our troops harder on all sides. At the end of a hard day's fighting, Sir Palmes, finding that he could make no permanent impression on the enemy, who kept well under cover, after securing the position at Pole Fort, ordered the rest of the troops to retreat into the town.

Sir Palmes, sending home an account of the three days' fighting, praises Admiral Herbert and his seamen; writing in the highest terms of his personal courage, and of his prudent advice and readiness to assist the Garrison at all times. Admiral Herbert was wounded in the side by a small shot. Major Beckman is also praised highly, not only as a valiant, steady man, but an able man in his profession. "Col. Sackville hath shown himself a person of experience and valour, as hath also Lt.-Col. Tollemache, Capt. Kirk, Lieut. Slater, Lt. Fitzpatrick, and Lt. Bridgeman; and so hath Major Hackett and all the Officers of the Earl of Dumbarton's Reg^t, as also the Officers and Soldiers of the standing forces of the Garrison, and all the volunteers, hath behaved themselves with infinite courage." The Earl of Plymouth and Lord Mordaunt also are highly praised. The former "would let no action pass, either on horseback or on foot, when he would not be present;" the latter, "no man braver, both on horseback and on foot." *

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 30, 23rd September, 1680, p. 236.

The Commander-in-Chief, in his report, complains that while the Ordnance accounts show that 700 firelocks and 1,000 matchlocks have been sent, not one has arrived, which causes him great trouble; as "there is never a day that 50 or 60 arms are not spoilt; so that, unless a speedy supply be sent, both of them and iron pots, I must give over fighting, for, without the one or the other, nothing can be done."

At the end of eight days the defences of Pole Fort were finished, and a guard of 600 men, which was relieved every twenty-four hours, was left in it. On the 5th of October, the Moors were very active in the night, clearing out trenches that the garrison had levelled and making fresh ones, which increased the difficulty of sending support from the town; still Sir Palmes considered the garrison in a fairly good position for defence.

CHAPTER X.

DEATH OF SIR PALMES FAIRBORNE AND APPOINTMENT OF
COLONEL SACKVILLE AS GOVERNOR.

FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER, 1680.

CONTENTS—Moors erect Batteries—Defective Guns—Arrival of the Spanish Horse—Duel between Officers—Punishment of the Survivor—Death of the Earl of Plymouth—Negotiations with the Moors—Death of Sir Palmes Fairborne—Gallant Conduct of the Spanish Horse—Colonel Sackville appointed Governor—Successful Sortie of the Garrison—Capture of Guns and Colours—Heavy Losses on both Sides—Dying Speech of Sir Palmes Fairborne—His Tomb in Westminster Abbey—Epitaph by Dryden—Return of Killed and Wounded—Despatch to the King—Truce for Six Months—Articles of the Peace—Arrival of the 4th King's Own Regiment—Colonel Piercy Kirk—Sir James Leslie and Colonel Sackville.

THE Moors, seeing that Pole Fort was now so well protected, and that without it they could not gain possession of the town, resolved to make a desperate effort to dislodge the garrison. With that object they erected two batteries bearing on it, and to prevent succour from the ships they also planted a heavy battery on the sand-hills looking into the bay. Sir Palmes was apprehensive that they would erect a battery at the place where Monmouth Fort stood, in which case he writes he should attempt to spike and bring off the guns.

At a Council of War held on the 6th of October it was decided to send for the Spanish Horse at Gibraltar. Ships out of the Admiral's fleet in the bay were at once dispatched for them. An inspection of the stores of shot and bullets revealed the fact that there were only six tons of small shot left in the stores, two and a half tons having been expended in the actions of the last fifteen days, so all the lead in the town was bought up (only one ton), and a ship was sent to Spain for bullets and lead. It was found that the great guns were defective and the carriages rotten. Three of the guns had burst, killing four men and wounding others. Mr. Shere was hit in the leg,

and Captain Fitzherbert was also wounded by the explosion. Sir Palmes and Admiral Herbert narrowly escaped, both the latter being on the platform of one of the guns, and within four yards of it when it burst.

The Spanish Horse arrived on the 9th of October, and in the fierce fights that took place before the month was over proved themselves worthy companions of our own troopers. In a letter dated the 8th of October, Sir Palmes complains that our own cavalry were sent out from England so badly equipped that they look more like "ruinated troopers than men fit for service," but adds that "the officers are very good men."

The Alcaide in command of the Moors seems to have been much irritated against Sir Palmes for so cleverly seizing the key of the town defences, Pole Fort, as a constant fire was directed against his private house in the town.

On the 11th the Commander-in-Chief sent a letter to the Alcaide proposing peace, but no answer was received. It was evident that a strong effort was about to be made against the garrison, and it was also observed that the Moors had commenced to mine towards Pole Fort on all sides.*

An unfortunate quarrel occurred in the garrison between Lieutenant Collier, of the King's Battalion, and Lieutenant Church, of Colonel Sackville's Company, resulting in a duel in which the latter officer was killed. Sir Palmes, in writing home on the 18th of October about this occurrence, relates that the survivor had received his punishment by common law, and the jury having found it manslaughter, he was sentenced to be burnt in the hand, which was done; but being a good officer Sir Palmes remarks that "the Court being satisfied that the punishment was of the severest, as appears by their petition to me,

* Major Beckman had with great skill fortified the Fort. He writes to Colonel George Legge:—"Ye upper rampart is now almost cannon-proof round, I hope to have some cannon mounted this week. I begunn to sink a countermine yesterday morning. The enemy's battery doth very much inconvenience ye Moale, but ye other two batteries have had small effect on my worke. I have noe time to make a draft of this siege or attaque. We have not above six canons about towne to fire, three is broke, noe gunners worth bread, noe garrison soe neglected, materials begins to grow scarce."¹ In a postscript he writes, "We have had about 145 killed and wounded." Povey, writing to Colonel Legge, says that on the first advance to Pole Fort, "Major Beckman, who is a brave man, in four houres time pallisadoed ye fort round, and ye same night five hundred men were lodged in ye fort."²

¹ Dartmouth MSS. 1679-1680. ² *Idem*.

I have thought fit to preserve him in his command until his Majesty's pleasure be further known." *

The gallant Earl of Plymouth, who had been attacked with dysentery immediately after the fights in September, in which he had taken so brave a part, died on the 17th of October. His body was sent home to England under the care of his no less gallant comrade in arms, Lord Mordaunt. †

The letter of Sir Palmes to Sir Leoline Jenkins, dated the 18th, in which he communicates this intelligence, bearing testimony to the brave actions of both the dead Earl and his comrade, was the last he wrote home. On the 24th he himself received his mortal wound, but lingered on till the 27th, when he had the happiness to hear of the complete success of his gallant soldiers under the conduct of the able Colonel Sackville.

While the Moors had been mining towards Pole Fort, the garrison on their part had not been idle, but had made counter-mines and erected batteries and other works. The Town had also made a new and strong line of communication with the Fort, and enlarged the stockade before Catherine Fort.

Colonel Tollemache had been sent to the Alcaide of Tetuan, who was commanding in the absence of the Alcaide of Alcazar, to try and bring about a cessation of hostilities; but the Moor was more inclined to make a peace, declaring he had power from the King to do so. Colonel Tollemache having said that with the truce we ought to be allowed to prosecute our fortifications at Pole Fort, the Alcaide flew into such a passion that the negotiations were abruptly broken off, and it was again "war to the knife."

On the 24th, Sir Palmes Fairborne, about seven o'clock in the morning, issued out of the Town, and took with him a small party to give directions as to a work he had decided to put on a little eminence to the left of the Spur under Peterborough Tower. The Moors, who were unfortunately on the alert (they had taken possession of their old trenches with

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 30, 18th October, 1680, pp. 240-1.

† He is said to have got the dysentery, which killed him, on the night of the 20th September, when he, with several other volunteer officers, offered to stay with the troops who were left in charge of the position gained at Poles Fort. The night proved quite stormy, and the excitement of the day and exposure in the night laid him on a bed of sickness, which proved fatal to him. He was one of the illegitimate sons of Charles, by Catherine, daughter of Thomas Pegg, Esq., of Yeldersley. In the secret service payments of Charles is an item of £120 paid to Nath^l Bladon for his funeral.—Camden Society, "Moneys Received and Paid for Secret Services of Charles II. and James II.," p. 25.

which they had surrounded Charles Fort), recognising the Commander-in-Chief, and, being particularly desirous of removing him out of the way, brought their musketeers to bear upon the spot where he was with his party. It was not long before he was hit, a shot entering his left breast, and he was immediately carried off the ground, leaving word that the work was to be at once proceeded with. In another account,* it is said that Sir Palmes, "being a man of undaunted spirit, in courage and resolution, fearing nothing, but still riding in every place of danger to animate the soldiers by this constant custom of his, and never changing his horse, the enemy did know him, and firing often, with an unfortunate and fatal shot wounded him mortally." As soon as the Engineers had traced out the work, and the soldiers began to break the ground, being protected in their work by a party of fifty Spanish Horse, and 150 of our Foot, the Moors made a sally out of their trenches; but before they could reach our Foot the Spanish troop of Horse, bravely led by their commander, charged the Moors, and forced them back into their trenches, following them up to the edge of their lines. The Moors, as soon as they got within cover of the trenches, fired on the Spanish Horse, killing many of the troopers and their horses, and compelling them to retreat. The Moors now again issued from their trenches, and pursued the Spaniards, who faced round like gallant men, and again the Moors were hurled back. The Spaniards now quietly trotted back, and took up their post on the flanks of the working party. By this time the small party had been reinforced by English Horse and more Foot, which kept the Moors from attempting any more interference with the work, and when it was finished, the troops marched quietly off in good order.†

The losses in this skirmish were eight or ten Spaniards and as many horses. Captain Forbes, of the Scotch Regiment, and six or eight private soldiers were mortally wounded.

The next day, the 25th, it was perceived that the Moors had completed a trench quite near to the stockade at Pole Fort, on the side toward Ann Fort, and had begun a gallery for a mine, "the ground being very commodious for it." They had also erected a battery for

* A Particular Narrative of the Great Engagement at Tangiers, 1680.

† Another account¹ of this little skirmish says, with reference to the conduct of the Spanish Horse, that when Sir Palmes was shot down they were so desirous to avenge his death that they "advanced to the enemy's trenches, and charged them home, most courageously killing several of the Moors, their Captain himself having killed one or two with his own hand."

¹ A Particular Narrative of the Great Engagement at Tangiers, 1680.

their guns within pistol shot of the Fort. Colonel Sackville, who, on the fall of Sir Palmes Fairborne, had succeeded to the command, at once called a Council of War, to decide upon what had best be done, as it was seen that if the Moors were allowed to continue their efforts against the Fort it must fall, and the Town would then be in great peril. At the Council it was resolved to make a general sally out with the entire strength of the garrison on Wednesday, the 27th, at daybreak.

Tuesday, the 26th of October, was spent in making all necessary preparations. In Mr. Shere's diary of the events following Sir Palmes' death, he writes "An universal diligence and alacrity appearing in all people was interpreted a presage of the success which through God's mercy ensued."*

At three a.m. on the morning of the 27th, the Garrison was under arms, the greatest care being taken to prevent any noise being made so as not to warn the enemy. Mr. Shere writes that this was so well done,† "that although the enemy had perdues under our very walls they could not have taken the least alarm."

The troops were composed of five battalions of Foot and one of Seamen, under Admiral Herbert's command. The five battalions were commanded by Major Boynton, Captain Giles, Captain Bowes, Captain Spott, and Major Barclay, and consisted of about 1,500 men.

The Cavalry consisted of seven troops or about 300 men. The three troops of English were commanded by Captain Neatby, Captain Coy, and Captain Langston, each troop consisting of about forty men and horses. The Spaniards' four troops were commanded by Don Salvador di Montforte, Don Maurique di Moronia (who commanded two troops), and Don Fernando Penaltelo, each troop being about fifty strong. Fifty men and horses were directed to march to the Spur at Peterborough Tower, to make a feint there, and, to further deceive the enemy, several flags were pitched at the place. This party was made up of Mole men and boys; they were, in addition to the colours, furnished with drums, which being beaten and causing a great noise, the Moors imagined a large force was assembled there.

On the other side, in the Bay, where the enemy had erected a battery of eight or nine guns, Admiral Herbert ordered all the boats of the fleet to be stationed "with waistcloths and colours to make show as if they intended to attempt their cannon." The latter ruse

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 30, 26th October, 1680, p. 244.

† Idem, 27th October, 1680, pp. 245-6.

was of great service in the day's operations, as a large number of the Moors were engaged all day along the coast, where they pitched their colours, watching the boats and firing on them. The operations were to be commenced by a sally out of Pole Fort, on to the enemy's nearest trench, from which place they had commenced a gallery to mine the Fort. The strength of the troops in the Fort was 150 men, commanded by Captain Lundy and Captain Hume, of the Scots Battalion. When all was ready, the order was given by Colonel Sackville, Commander-in-Chief, to advance out of the town by Catherine Fort. The Horse proceeded first, and took up a position in the stockade just in front of the gate; the Foot following, and taking up positions in accordance with instructions that had been previously given by Colonel Sackville. The King's Battalion being on the right of the line, then the Scots, then the Governor's Regiment, and the Seamen on the left. All this was done with such silence and regularity that almost all the troops were in position before the Moors took the alarm. When the troops were ready to advance against the positions of the enemy Colonel Sackville gave the signal to the Fort, and the party detailed for the Forlorn Hope at once rushed out upon the Moors, followed by the Reserve, and a fierce and bloody fight ensued. The Moors were found in greater numbers in the trenches than had been anticipated. The two officers in command were at once shot down, and were carried off the field. Lieutenant Robinson, a very gallant young officer with the Forlorn Hope, was also, early in the *mêlée*, dangerously wounded. The Reserve appointed to follow up the attack from the Fort was so slow in coming up that the gallant little band were nearly all cut off. As soon as the sortie was launched from the Fort upon the foe, the whole force of the garrison advanced, and were soon engaged; the Moors fighting stubbornly, and disputing every inch of ground, each line and trench being the scene of obstinate and bloody resistance. The Scots and their Grenadiers charged first, and, with loud hurrahs, dashed upon the Moors; though, according to another account, there was not much difference in all the battalions, "for, like fire and lightning, all went to it at once." The seamen and Inchiquin's Regiment (Queen's) almost at the same moment engaged the enemy.*

After a time the Moors began to give way, but not before they had inflicted great losses upon the Garrison. The trenches were carried by our troops (the Moors in some of them having to be forced

* A Particular Narrative of the Great Engagement at Tangiers, 1680, pp. 4 and 5.



SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE TROOPS AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FIGHT ON 27TH OCTOBER, 1680.

There are a number of interesting ways, however, to interpret the findings and get a better grip on the Gini loss. The first way was already suggested by our experts (see Merton et al. 1999) and has to be regarded

* All figures are in US dollars unless otherwise specified. Data from CIA, *World Factbook*, 2008, pp. 1 and 5.

out at the point of the pike), and as they captured each position the cheers of the English must have been as inspiring to our men as they were awe-inspiring to the Moors. The King's Battalion, posted on the right of the line, "charged and drove back the Moors from the ground whereon they had planted their guns, of which two were captured by them. Captain Bowes, who was in command of the King's Battalion, considering he had orders to maintain the posts he had gained, did not afterwards (though strongly urged by his officers to do so) move to the support of the Scots, but ordered his men to stand to their posts on pain of death."* In another account it is stated that it was the Queen's Regiment that Captain Bowes was ordered to succour, and the reason given why they did not arrive in time was that the pikemen were ordered to put the guns away in order to prevent their again falling into the hands of the enemy. The English steadily advanced until the Moors were beaten back from their new trenches to the old lines, where our forts from James to Monmouth Forts formerly stood, and as the trenches were carried the men in rear set to work to fill up portions for the passage of our Horse, "without which assistance nothing memorable would have been performed." As soon as a passage was made, the Horse advanced, the troop led by Captain Neatby being the first, followed by the Spanish troop led by Don Salvador de Montforte and Don Maurique di Moronia," who found a passage a little more to the right. As soon as the Moors saw our Horse in front they began to waver, but were again and again rallied by their own Cavalry, between whom and the allied Cavalry many gallant fights took place. At last resistance was at an end, and the Moors broke on all sides and fled, pursued by both our Horse and Foot, great slaughter ensuing. The Moorish troopers did their best to protect their flying countrymen, and are reported to have been very gallant and daring in their devotion, losing many chiefs in the attempt to save their troops, and making a desperate effort to retrieve the fortunes of the day. The English though were not to be denied, and at last a complete rout of the Moors ensued, and they were pursued for at least a mile into the country by the Horse, many of them being killed in their camp among the tents. Two pieces of cannon were taken, five colours, and many prisoners. The severity of the fighting may be judged from the fact that in one of the battalions of the Governor's Regiment only fifty men escaped. The Moors, refusing

* History of the Grenadier Guards, by Lieutenant-General Sir F. W. Hamilton, K.C.B., Vol. I., p. 244.

to accept quarter, in nearly all cases were killed. Colonel Sackville, in his orders for the day, had instructed parties of both horse and foot to wait and fall upon the Moors as they were driven from their trenches; in this way the Moors lost very heavily, and these tactics helped most materially to gain the day.

As soon as the fight was over and the enemy dispersed, the new trenches made by them were filled in, the Moorish dead finding a grave in their own works. The troops, before going back to their quarters in town, added to the defences of Pole Fort by taking in the piece of elevated ground where the Moors had lain before the Fort, and from whence they had begun their gallery for the mine. It is stated that the Moors were completely deceived by the party of Mole men and boys on their horses, which with their drums and colours appeared quite a formidable reserve of cavalry. At three o'clock the fight was over and the Moors, beaten at all points and dispirited with the loss of so many men, did not offer the faintest resistance to our triumphant march into the town. The number of the Moors engaged has been estimated at from 15,000 to 16,000 Horse and Foot; and the English 3,000, but both statements appear to be exaggerated. The Tangiers State Papers give the number of English at 1,500 Foot and 300 Horse. This, with a few volunteers and the Mole men, make little more than 2,000.

Sir Palmes Fairborne lived till the end of the day, and had the supreme satisfaction of seeing the victorious troops march back into the town. He had, in fact, witnessed the whole fight, having, a little time before he breathed his last, caused himself to be brought out in a chair on to a balcony where he could see the whole field.

It must have been to him an inspiring sight, and one can well imagine the excitement of these his last moments; at the same time it was sad to see the glory and honour for which he had so long resolutely striven snatched out of his hand, although by a most worthy and excellent soldier. Speaking to those around him he is reported to have said, "How variously the vicissitudes and circles of fortune concentrate themselves, tossing the ambitious and aspiring desires of mortals like *perpetuam mobilies*, sometimes elevating and bearing them upon the wings of Fame to the skies, that, like Phæton, they may catch the greater fall; sometimes with soft embraces and delicious charmes, lulls them asleep and hugs them in her amorous arms. To the great Alexander, her first favourite and minion, her smiles proved but a delusion in the end, when he thought he had conquered the earth and could not command so much of it as to bury him; and Julius Cæsar, a great conqueror and Emperor of the world, was van-

quished in the end by his own senate and killed by his son Brutus. Why should we be puffed up with the various ebbs and tides of fortune, since the greatest wisdom is to know ourselves but men? Who lives by the sword must die by the same, and who covets honour must die in the bed of it. I have been in this Garrison a long time, many times flattered with the propitious smiles of Fortune's favour, and sometimes endured the lowering umbrageous frowns of her adverse and fatal eclipses, doing my endeavour for the advancing my King and Master's interest, to withstand the Moors' attempts and gain myself reputation; but I must now pay the debt of all men, and yet I think it rejoices my dying spirits to see this subtil enemy so bravely conquered; only I complained on my own sad destiny, that during all the wars and encounters with them, I had not the happiness to obtain such a glorious victory over them. But I am most glad a person whom I respected for his great parts ever since he came here has snatched the honour out of my hands." The writer of the account, in conclusion, refers to him as a man of undaunted resolution and spirit, an excellent expert soldier, prudent and wise in all his procedures, and of indefatigable diligence.*

Mr. Shere also, in his diary, calls him a "worthy, able and brave Officer, who had made it his special study to qualify himself for his master's service here, where he had been an Officer for near eighteen years;" and that "His Majesty had not a subject in his three kingdoms of more proper qualifications for this post."† It would appear from subsequent correspondence that Sir Palmes had left a numerous and indigent family, and Mr. Shere begs Sir Leoline Jenkins, who was a great patron of the late Governor, to use his influence with the King on their behalf. In Westminster Abbey there is a monument to Sir Palmes, erected by his widow, with the following inscription on it:—"Sacred to the immortal memory of Sir Palmes Fairborne, Knight, Governor of Tangiers, in the execution of which command, he was mortally wounded by a shot from the Moors, then besieging the town, in the forty-sixth year of his age, October 24th, 1680." On a lofty dome is Sir Palmes' arms, with this motto, "Tutis si Fortis." Over it is a Turk's dagger, a crest which he won by his valour in fighting against the Turks in the German war. The monument is by Bushnah, sculptor, and on it are the following lines, by the poet Dryden:—

* Tangiers Rescue. By John Ross, 1681, pp. 28-30.

† Tangiers State Papers, No. 30, 27th October, 1680, p. 254.

“Ye sacred reliques, which our marbles keep,
Here undisturbed by wars, in quiet sleep,
Discharge the trust which (when it was below)
Fairborne's undaunted soul did undergoe,
And be the town's Palladium from the foe !
Alive and dead, those walls he did defend ;
Great actions great examples must attend.
The Candian siege his early valour knew,
Where Turkish blood did his young hands imbrue ;
From thence returning, with deserved applause,
Against the Moors his well-fleshed sword he draws,
The same the courage, the same the cause.
His youth and age, his life and death combine,
As in some great and regular design,
All of a piece throughout, and all divine.
Still nearer heaven, his virtues shone more bright,
Like rising flames expanding in their height,
The martyr's glory crowns the soldier's flight.
More bravely British Gen'ral never fell,
Nor Gen'ral's death was e'er revenged so well,
Which his pleased eyes beheld before their close,
Followed by thousand victims of his foes.
To his lamented loss for times to come,
His pious widow consecrates this tomb.”

Mr. Shere also launches out a high eulogium on the victory just gained (in which he took a gallant part, accompanying the Forlorn Hope sortie from Pole Fort), and which, he says he thinks, “history can scarce furnish us with an example of a towne in a Foreign Prince's dominions, remote from succour, prosecuted and besieged for a whole year together by a vigilant, industrious, and daring enemy, encouraged by success in all their attempts, that we should, with a handful of men, take the field, repossess, and fortify an eminent post they had taken from us, give them battle, defeat them, taking their cannon, colours, prisoners, level and demolish their works and trenches, and pursue them to their very camp.” Our victory was unfortunately stained by our troops copying the barbarous practice of the Moors. Some of the soldiers, furious at what had been done on former occasions by the enemy, cut off the heads of some of their vanquished foes.* Colonel Sackville wrote a civil letter to the Alcaide, apologising for this, and expressed a hope that in future it might be prevented. Forty of the dead bodies of the Moors were found outside our lines, after numbers of them had been buried in the trenches, which were filled up. These were handed over to the Moors, at the Stockade,

* In the American War of Independence, 1775-1783, our troops after a time adopted the barbarous practice of the enemy, of taking scalps.

near Fountain Fort, the Moors themselves bringing in three of our killed. From the care bestowed on some of their killed, the bodies being wrapped in clean linen, it was supposed they were "men of account." One was concluded (from papers found on his person) to be the Alcaide of Alcazar's brother. The losses of the Moors were variously estimated at from 500 to 600 killed and wounded; but in a letter of Colonel Sackville, dated December, in the Tangiers State Papers, he relates that they confess to have lost the greater part of 2,000 of their prime men, "besides mountaineers, which they do not reckon." The following is a list of killed and wounded in the battle of the 27th, including Captain Forbes, killed in the skirmishes of the 24th:—

| Regiments. | OFFICERS. | | Number of Non-Com. Officers. | | Number of Private Soldiers. | | | | | |
|--|---|--|------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------|----------|-----|---|----|----|
| | Killed. | Wounded | Killed. | Wounded. | Killed. | Wounded. | | | | |
| King's Regiment, or Grenadier Guards | Captain Forbes, killed on 24th.
Lieut. Scott.
Ensign Daniel Farrel.
Archd. Murray. | Lieut. Robinson, shot through arm and body | — | — | 7 | 51 | | | | |
| Earl of Dumbarton's Regiment (Scots) | | Capt. Julius Lockart. | 6* | | | 80 | 100 | | | |
| | | " Robt. Lunday. | | | | | | | | |
| | | " George Hume. | | | | | | | | |
| | | " Robert Duglass. | | | | | | | | |
| | | " Henry Povey. | | | | | | | | |
| | | Lieut. W. Gascock. | | | | | | | | |
| | | " George Murray. | | | | | | | | |
| | | " Alexander Innis. | | | | | | | | |
| | | " Charles Corson. | | | | | | | | |
| | | " George Bamesman. | | | | | | | | |
| Reformed (Volunteer) Officers fighting in this Regiment. | | " James McRohen. | | | | 84 | 124 | | | |
| | | " James Stuart. | | | | | | | | |
| | | " John Aukmooty. | | | | | | | | |
| | | " Gilbert Butler. | | | | | | | | |
| | | Ensign John Mowart. | | | | | | | | |
| Earl of Inchiquin's (Queen's) Regiment | Lieut. Alex. St Leger. | — | | | | | | 2 | 10 | 22 |
| | Ensign J. Bell. | | | | | | | | | |
| | " Hew Rut. | | | | | | | | | |
| | " Watson. | | | | | | | | | |
| | " Trant. | | | | | | | | | |
| | Captain Philpott, dangerously, in the knee. | | | | | | | | | |
| | Lieutenant Guy. | | | | | | | | | |
| | " Taite. | | | | | | | | | |
| | Ensign Roberts, dangerously, in the thigh. | | | | | | | | | |
| | Ensign Thomas. | | | | | | | | | |
| " Fitzpatrick. | | | | | | | | | | |
| " Webster. | | | | | | | | | | |
| " Norwood. | | | | | | | | | | |
| " Beckford. | | | | | | | | | | |
| " Elliot. | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vice-Admiral Herbert's Battalion (Spanish Horse). | Captain Duncan. | 4 Reformed (Volunteer) Officers wounded. | — | 2 | 10 | 22 | | | | |
| English Horse, Captain Neatby's troop. | Lieut. White. | Lieut. Capel, wounded in right arm. | — | — | 11 | 30 | | | | |
| | 8 Cornets. | Cornet Windham, shot in right arm, which is cut off. | — | — | — | 5 | | | | |
| | | | — | — | — | — | | | | |
| | 14 | 83 | 6 | 2 | 92 | 332 | | | | |

* Killed and mortally wounded.

The following list of casualties is taken from "A Particular Narrative of the Great Engagement at Tangiers," in the British Museum, dated 27th October, 1680, : " In all seven commanding officers killed ; wounded, whereof many mortally, 24 ; non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, 90 killed, and wounded, whereof a third part mortally, 348 ; horses killed 41, wounded 54 ; or a total of 469 *hors de combat*." These details, however, do not agree with the returns. The total numbers killed and wounded, according to the official figures (including Spaniards and volunteers), being 14 officers killed, 32 wounded ; 6 non-commissioned officers killed, 2 wounded ; 92 private soldiers killed, 332 wounded ; or a total of 478.

On the 29th October Colonel Tollemache was sent home with despatches giving a full account of the late events, and Mr. Shere was commissioned by Colonel Sackville to write a full report of the battle ; Colonel Sackville only sending a short note to the Earl of Sunderland, in which he refers to Colonel Tollemache as a "worthy and able officer, who had the honour to be a principal sharer, both in the conduct and danger of the day." He also reports on Mr. Shere, who, he says, "I make choice of to present your Lordship with the narrative of our proceedings, having been himself a principal instrument, both by his valour and advice, to the victory we obtained." Colonel Tollemache arrived home on the 26th of November, and immediately proceeded to the King to give his Majesty Mr. Shere's account of the late battles, and his own experiences. *

After the severe defeat sustained on the 27th of October, the Alcaide

* In the accounts of Mr. William Hewers¹ is one for provisions delivered "by way of essay, for use of sick and wounded men in hospital at Tangiers," and which is as follows : For

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------|
| White biscuits... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,882 cwts. |
| Oatmeal | ... | ... | ... | ... | 88 bushels 2 gallons. |
| French barley | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,972 cwts. |
| Currants | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,882 cwts. |
| Rice | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,792 cwts. |
| Tamarinds | ... | ... | ... | ... | 407½ cwts. |
| Mace | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,910½ cwts. |
| Cinnamon | ... | ... | ... | ... | 29 cwts. (½ ozs.) |
| White sugar | ... | ... | ... | ... | 941 cwts. |
| Brown sugar | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,823 cwts. |

Computed at the rate of three pints of oatmeal ; French barley, white biscuit, rice, and currants, each a pound ; white sugar half a pound ; ordinary sugar pound and-a-half ; mace and cinnamon a quarter of an ounce each ; tamarinds four ounces. In money, to buy oranges and lemons, &c., 6d.

¹ Audit Office Declared Accounts. Bundle 310, Roll 1,226.

of Alcazar was most anxious for a peace for six months, or a truce for two, on terms somewhat similar to the former ones, viz., freedom of trade, forage for horses for the Garrison, in exchange for powder, guns, and cloth for the Moors. But the victor was not inclined to allow such advantageous terms, and inserted a new clause much more to the advantage of the Garrison, which our humbled enemy agreed to accept.

It would appear that the long-expected letter from King Charles in reply to the one sent home by the Earl of Inchiquin had arrived, as on the 19th of November the Alcaide writes to the King that he is very pleased with the answer, and has concluded a six months' peace with the garrison, which he will keep faithfully, and that when the Ambassador arrives he shall be received with all honour.

Captain FitzPatrick was sent home on the 5th of December, with the terms of peace. Provision had been made that in case the conditions were not approved by the King's Ministers, a new one might be made more in accordance with the King's wishes. Colonel Sackville expresses a hope that the King approves of his having made a treaty, and that he will think more of it than if he (Colonel Sackville) had killed all the Alcaldes in Barbary; "for unless the King can send ten thousand foot and eight hundred or one thousand horse, it is impossible ever to possess that ground which must be had before those fortifications can be made according to the draft sent His Majesty." The estimate for these fortifications and plans for defence was £300,000 a year for ten years, or three million pounds sterling—an expense which he, Colonel Sackville, doubts not is "too large for his Majesty's undertaking."

The following is a short summary of the treaty of peace made by Colonel Sackville:—

COLONEL SACKVILLE'S TREATY, 3RD JANUARY, 1680.*

1. On signing treaty all hostilities to cease, no works to be done except inside the walls of Tangier.
2. Permission to purchase stores for food: 100 cows or oxen, 200 sheep and 1,000 poultry, with fruits, &c., each month (a tenth to be charged for Europeans same as Moors).
3. Liberty to graze cattle in the fields with certain payments to Moors.
- 4 and 5. Moors to furnish forage for agreed prices.
6. Liberty to cut wood, sending four boats twelve times a year, but not till Moors are advised of time and place.
7. Liberty to get stone for Mole work only.
8. Liberty to fish in safety.

* Dartmouth MSS., 1681-82.

9. Liberty for English inhabitants to "divert" themselves, either on horse or foot, on the sands as far as Old Tangier, not more than twelve persons at a time.

10. Liberty for Englishmen to hunt, only twelve at a time.

11. Liberty to inhabitants to appear in Tangier fields (within bounds), the Moors the same within their bounds.

12. Moors to be allowed to come by stockade at Fountain Fort to trade with inhabitants of Tangiers, and at night to leave twenty persons to take care of their goods.

13. Alcaide and his two stewards to have liberty to enter Tangier and to trade.

14. If Ambassador, daily expected, does not agree to the terms of peace, a conference to be held between Ambassador and the Alcaide, and if not ratified within one month peace to expire.

15. Protection to traders in Barbary, and in like-manner Moors in Tangier.

16. One thousand pieces of eight to be paid for every murder committed, if the murderer escape justice, the same on both sides, Every murder to be punishable with death.

17. In consideration of the benefits of this treaty (for one year), the Governor or Commander-in-Chief of Tangier to furnish to the Alcaide, Omar Ben Hadon, 100 barrels of powder, 200 muskets with good and proper English locks, &c., also 100 pieces of cloth of divers colours.

18. A Hostage, Captain James Fortrey,* is to remain with the Alcaide wherever he may be, at "Tittione (Tetuan), Alcaz, or elsewhere." Captain Fortrey to have liberty to come into Tangier as often as he shall see cause, if he leave some proper person in his place.

19. Breach of treaty not to be immediately followed by war, but twenty days to be allowed for explanations, after which, if not satisfied, peace to cease.

Last clause is ratification of treaty by Alcaide, 25th November, 1680, and Emperor, 3rd January, 1681.

Poor Sir Palmes had, when dying, requested Colonel Sackville to promote Mr. Chantrell, the Lieutenant of his company, to the command of it. Colonel Sackville had promised to do so, though he did not agree to its expediency, for he felt he could not refuse this request to a dying man, and one of such worth as the late Governor.

Colonel Sackville's health was now giving way, and he wrote urgently asking to be allowed to give up his command at Tangiers. About the 18th of December, the Ambassador, Sir James Leslie, arrived, and at the same time the Earl of Plymouth's Regiment (now The King's Own Royal Lancaster Regiment) arrived in a very sickly condition, from their long detention on board ship, having lost several of the officers and at least fifty private soldiers on the voyage. Lieutenant-Colonel Piercy Kirk, from the Earl of Oxford's troop in the Royal Horse Guards, was in command, having been promoted to this regiment on its being formed. Eight companies had been raised in London and its vicinity, under Lieutenant-Colonel Kirk, and eight companies in

* Captain in the 4th Company King's Guards.

Plymouth, under Major Charles Trelawney, who afterwards succeeded to the command of the regiment when Colonel Kirk was promoted to the Second Queen's, in succession to the Earl of Plymouth.

Sir James Leslie, immediately on his arrival, wrote a civil letter to the Alcaide, informing him that he should pay him a visit as soon as the King's presents for the Emperor arrived from England, which he daily expected. The views of Sir James Leslie and Colonel Sackville, with respect to the truce and its terms, seem to have been considerably at variance. Numerous conferences were held between them, but without resulting in any mutual agreement. Colonel Sackville maintained that he had made the best terms possible with the Moors, and that he was so convinced of it that he was more proud of his having concluded this truce than he was of his late successes in the field. There appearing to be no chance of their agreeing, Sir James Leslie wrote a letter to the Governor on the 30th of December, in which, after alluding to his surprise at finding a peace made, he requests him to give his reasons in writing for making it, and for desiring to have it confirmed, adding that he begs leave to say plainly that had he been present he would "never have condescended to that agreement," as he knows Barbary so well "that if he ratifies this peace no better will be obtained, and therefore wishes to have Colonel Sackville's reasons in writing, so that he may be freed of responsibility with the King." The Ambassador appears to have been unsuccessful also with the Alcaide, with whom he had several interviews. On making a demand for more ground for fortifications, the Alcaide, although treating him with all the "solemn outward respect imaginable, parting from him without the least show of distaste;" yet he wrote immediately afterwards to Colonel Sackville, telling him he would sooner part from his religion than concede such a point, and expressing his surprise that a man not a stranger to the country should attempt to get such an advantage. The Alcaide also wrote to the Governor on the 24th, referring to the conference he had had with the Ambassador on the previous day, and stated that the points urged upon him were so impossible ("more ground to fortify on") that had he known such demands would have been made he would not have accepted the King's letter. It would appear, according to the correspondence, that the Alcaide considered the Ambassador "not so well-born a person as his high mind expected to have come, knowing him a private man in this Garrison before he went to England." *

* According to Colonel Sackville, Sir James Leslie had served as a private trooper in the Tangiers Cavalry. Tangiers State Papers, No. 32, 1681.

Colonel Sackville, in replying to Sir James Leslie's note, gives him full particulars of his reasons, quite justifying the expediency of the peace he had made. He considered he was well studying his master the King's interest in what he did, knowing how little able the revenue of the Crown was to defray the expenses of a continuance of the war. The peace he had made was also on much better terms than had been obtained before when all the Forts were standing, and he is surprised that one who knows Tangier and the manner of making war there so well could think a continual resistance possible with such a reduced garrison, not 1,500 men being fit for duty, and that Sir James knowing this, the Soldier ought to have prevailed in him above the Minister of State, and that he ought to have ratified the treaty instead of trying to delay it to the evident danger of the garrison. He retorts on Sir James that if he orders him to make war he will comply, but that the Ambassador must take the responsibility of such a proceeding, wanting, as they do badly, men, money and materials. He concludes by assuring the Ambassador that whensoever he communicates his intentions to him he will, to the best of his judgment, discharge the trust reposed in him for the service of his King.

CHAPTER XI.

FIRST EMBASSY TO THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO.

FROM JANUARY TO DECEMBER, 1681.

CONTENTS.—Kirk's Mission to the Emperor of Morocco—Visit to Fez—Friendly Reception—Disagreement between the Governor and the Admiral—Emperor's Promise of Four Years' Peace—Proposed Amalgamation of the Tangiers and Kirk's Regiments—Protest and Appeal to the King—Their Petition granted—Sir James Leslie's Embassy—Letter of Safe Conduct—Kirk with the Alcaides—Terms arranged—Leslie's Articles of Peace—Number of Captured Soldiers—Departure of Colonel Sackville—Moors seize Marmora—Proposed Exchange of Prisoners—Fall of the Alcaide Omar—A Fugitive Prince—Death of Omar—His Character—The Council and the Governor—Reception of the Moorish Ambassador at Tangiers—Grand Procession—Arrival of the Ambassador in England—Quarrels in the Garrison—Punishment of Soldiers.

COLONEL SACKVILLE wrote home in January to the Lords Commissioners giving full particulars of all that had transpired, and saying that while the negotiations were still in progress a letter arrived for the Alcaide from the Emperor, ordering him to conduct the Ambassador at once to him to deliver the King of England's letter. The Alcaide was anxious that Sir James Leslie should set out immediately, but, as the presents he had to deliver to the Emperor had not arrived from England he wished to delay his journey. The Alcaide appeared to be apprehensive of his master's displeasure unless he at once paid attention to the summons, so it was decided to send Colonel Kirk with the Alcaide and to make an apology for the Ambassador's delay. Colonel Kirk left Tangiers for Mequinez, where the Emperor was staying, on the 7th of February, conducted by the Alcaide of Tetuan. Mequinez, which was the Emperor's favourite residence, is called by a writer the Versailles of Morocco. Many of its sumptuous palaces are in ruins, but the town is still very rich in antiquarian remains. The Emperor spent much of his time here, and was almost always engaged, when not at war (or amusing himself with inventing some new torture for his subjects

or the unhappy Christian slaves), in laying out pleasure grounds, building new palaces, or beautifying and adorning the town, which in his reign became a flourishing city. The ancient Roman town of Volubilis being not far from Mequinez, he used the stones taken from its ruins for the erection of his palaces, and he is said to have boasted that he would make a road from Mequinez to Morocco "on which a blind man could find his way, *i.e.*, by feeling it along the wall."* A writer of this time† says that the Emperor, refusing to live at his capital city of Fez, has so much beautified and enlarged this place that in time it will be a most agreeable magnificent Palace. About a musket shot off he has laid the foundation of a new Castle, which, by the misery and slavery of 500 Christian slaves continually working, he intends to build in the nature of a Citadel to contain his guards and household.‡

The day after Colonel Kirk's arrival he was received by the Emperor, who accepted his letters and compliments very cordially, and told him "that in return of the honour he did him in his compliment, he would grant him four years' peace; and if by any spies he could be informed of a breach of peace committed by his officers he would punish them with extreme severity." After some more talk, and saying that he referred the terms of the Treaty to Alcaide Omar, he treated them to an exhibition of his Cavalry exercises, which, however, did not seem to impress the Embassy much, as it is described as "in so much confusion that not a word of command can be distinguished." The writer goes on to remark that, with this tumultuous way of fighting, without the least art of order, "it makes them a people easy to conquer by our ranged armies keeping their squadrons firm, and relieving their charge with loose parties after their own manner," and which he thinks "must take their ground from them and consequently be master of the field." After showing the Embassy much attention in order to further impress them with his grace and to show his possessions, he invited them to see his City of Fez, and sent them under the conduct of the Alcaide Omar, who, like his master, did his best to impress his guests

* Our Mission to the Court of Morocco. Captain Trotter, p. 247.

† The Last Account from Fez in a Letter from one of the Embassy to a Person of Honour in London.

‡ Captain Trotter, in his account of his mission to the Court of Morocco, relates as one of the cruelties of the Emperor, which was witnessed by an Englishman, that one day, passing a high wall where some of these Christians were at work, he made his guards go up and throw them off, breaking their arms and legs (p. 241).

with his attentions. They set out on the 25th of February, and arrived in Fez the next day. Their host noticing on the way that the English boy who was his slave, and whom Colonel Kirk had borrowed as an interpreter, was acceptable to his guest, he made him a present of his freedom from slavery, with permission to attach himself to Colonel Kirk. The Emperor also, on their return to Mequinez, gave another English slave his liberty out of compliment to his guests. At Fez, where they were attended by guards and treated with the greatest honour, they were presented to the son of one of the Sultan's wives, a Christian renegade. The young prince, who was about twelve years of age, received them in a stately room in the Palace, "attended by his Governor and other men of quality," and, after many civil expressions, gave them liberty to see the Palace and its grounds, with the exception of course of the inner apartments of the Queen and her train, which they were not permitted to come near. They were afterwards entertained by the Governor of the city, and shown all that was worthy of notice in Fez. At the dinner, given in their honour by the Governor, they were sumptuously entertained; but as no wine was offered them, the narrator quaintly remarks that "with brimmers of pure element we made a sober conclusion of our entertainment." After three days spent most pleasantly the Embassy returned to Mequinez. The Emperor, as soon as he heard of their return from Fez, sent for them and told Colonel Kirk that he was extremely satisfied with him, and that he considered him as one deserving his Prince's favour by hazarding so much for his service; and that he had so high an opinion of his good faith "that he should find greater favour than any man was ever known to have from him; and though he had great reason to dislike the Ambassador's [Sir James Leslie's] proceedings in distrust of him, and using him with so great delays, yet for his sake he would admit him to his presence." He further told him that, "as long as he remained in Tangier, there should never be any gun fired at the place, but that it should be furnished with provisions and benefits of a hearty peace." In dismissing him he desired Colonel Kirk to send him "some few guns for his own shooting, and as he performed his promise to him in these small things, he would make a faithful return in whatsoever should concern a long and continued peace." *

Colonel Kirk wrote to Colonel Sackville from Mequinez, saying that he thought they might get what they wanted if Sir James Leslie

* The Last Account from Fez, in a Letter from one of the Embassy to a Person of Honour in London, pp. 1 to 4.

went the right way about it, but it would seem as if the Alcaide Omar had been busy in making the English Ambassador an unexceptionable person to the Emperor. He tried hard to get Colonel Kirk to complete negotiations with the Emperor, but he was told he could not interfere with the Ambassador's duties. In Kirk's letter to Colonel Sackville he says he hopes Sir James Leslie will soon arrive and allow him to return, though he is very well, and the Alcaide "is the best man in the world, and if he had been his brother he could not have expected the kindness he has shown to them all." Colonel Sackville, giving an account of the negotiations going on about the peace, says he has yielded the point as to the strengthening of Pole Fort, and adds that if the King persists in his resolution to fortify with a large hand "it may beget a religious war." If the whole force of the Emperor is brought against them, it would fall hard with the garrison, "their numbers will always recompense their defect of discipline." Colonel Sackville writes home to the Lords Commissioners on the 15th, urging them (though he has no ill-feeling against him) to send out as Ambassador a person of higher rank than Sir James, as he firmly believes it would be more advantageous to the King's service and satisfy the Emperor more.

There appears to have been a serious disagreement between the Governor and Admiral Herbert on the subject of the capture by the latter of two small vessels belonging to the Alcaide, bound from Sallee to Tangiers, after he had promised them a safe passage (on the Governor's pass) through the English Fleet. Colonel Sackville wrote three letters to the Admiral, urging the return to the Moors of five Christian slaves he had captured belonging to the Moors, as their detention prejudiced Colonel Kirk's safety; and later on he writes home to the Lords Commissioners complaining bitterly of the action of Admiral Herbert in this and other matters. Admiral Herbert's excuse was that he captured them because they seemed to avoid him, and they were not simple merchantmen, but pirates, as they had great guns in their holds. A considerable amount of complaining against Admiral Herbert appears in the letters of Colonel Sackville in this and the following month, but no further mention need be made of them.

On the 29th of January, the Governor again earnestly prays that his petition to come home may be brought before the King, "as his health is rapidly failing."

In February, news was received again from Colonel Kirk at Fez. A letter from the Governor to Sir H. Goodriche says that the Emperor had told Kirk that for his sake he would give them four

years' peace in Tangiers; and more, that as long as Colonel Sackville was Governor there, he would cut off the Alcaide's head if he gave the Garrison the least suspicion of a breach of faith. The Governor also writes in the same letter his sense of gratification at hearing how extremely acceptable the truce was to the King and Council.

It appears from a letter* of Colonel Boynton to the Earl of Sunderland, that they had heard there was an intention of merging the old Tangiers Regiment into Colonel Kirk's 2nd Tangiers Regiment;† and he begs the ministers, on account of the long and faithful services of its officers for twenty years in Tangiers, and for services done in Dunkirk before becoming the Tangiers Regiment, that if such a design is seriously intended, to represent to the King their long and faithful services, and that they hope so public a disgrace will not be put upon them as to break them—"one of y^e antienst Regiments of his kingdome"—into one of yesterday. The letter ends with an earnest petition that they may be allowed to serve His Majesty if called home in the Regiment which has fought so well, and lost so many brave men in fights in Tangiers ever since the place was the King's. "So we, depending wholly upon His Majestie's justice and favour to us, cannot really fear any supplantation," beg for a reply to his letter. This project of amalgamating the two Regiments had no doubt been talked of, and was with a view to economy. The letter of Colonel Boynton had the effect so earnestly desired by him and by all the officers. A letter was received by him in reply, on the 29th of May, from Sir Leoline Jenkins, informing him that his petition was granted by the King. The welcome news was communicated to the officers by Colonel Boynton, who writes on the 3rd of June to Sir Leoline Jenkins, acknowledging the receipt of the notification, and begs of him to "present to His Majesty our hearty acknowledgments for his gracious expressions and intentions towards us, which we are all so sensible of that we want words to make our gratitude known by, but never want will or inclination to serve His Majesty in all hazardous difficulties and in all places (where his service there requires) to our lives' end, which is the firm resolution of the Regiment in general." Sir James Leslie also wrote to Sir Leoline Jenkins, thanking him for the efforts he had made to obtain "His Majesty's grace and favour to our Regiment."

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 32, 2nd March, 1681, and No. 33, June to December, 1681. A letter to the same effect was also sent to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

† Now The King's Own (Royal Lancaster) Regiment.

On the 6th of March, Sir James Leslie received his fresh instructions from home, and on the 9th he started with a retinue of twenty persons for Fez. On the 10th, Colonel Kirk had written to the Governor as to the necessity of hastening his (the Ambassador's) departure. The letter of safe-conduct for the journey of the embassy from Tangiers to Fez and back is a quaint document:—

“In the name of the merciful God, who exercises his goodness towards his servant Lord of the faithful, crowned by God in whom is his hope.

“Ishmaell, Son of Xerriff Hagyassi, whom God hath crowned and exalted. To the Ambassador Leslie, the Peace and Mercy of God to those that follow the truth.

“We give thee to understand that thy letter is come to our hand, by which we take notice thou art dispatched, with a letter from thy King for us, with which letter thou mayest proceed on thy journey and make thy appearance before our Royal or Xerriffe presence at thy own Leasure and conveniency, and this my letter shall be to thee a Seguro or Letter of Safe conduct as well for thy proceeding on thy journey thither as for thy return back to that your city.

“Peace be to those who follow the truth. Written in Martenesse, the 7th day of the Month Safar, in the year 1092.”

On the 11th, Colonel Sackville received news that His Majesty had granted him permission to return home, and that Colonel Kirk was to command in Tangiers in his absence. He complains of some statements made by Major Sir James Halket on the subject of the treaty, and of his saying that he and his Scots did all the late fighting, “since there were so many equal sharers in that day's danger and success.”

On the 31st of March Sir James Leslie writes to the Commissioners, giving an account of his arrival at the Court of the Emperor of Morocco at Fez, the King appearing pleased with his presents, but referring him to the Alcaide for arranging the articles of treaty, as “he was the next man in the kingdom.”* Colonel Kirk and another accompanied the Ambassador to the Alcaide's house, and the articles proposed by Sir James were freely discussed. These articles included the cession of all ground between Jews river on the East, and old Tangiers river on the West, with full permission to erect forts and works of defence on that ground. No agreement could be arrived at, and at last Sir James proposed that things should remain as they were “till the King's pleasure was known.” Articles to this effect were drawn up, only to be returned next day insultingly cut and torn, with the proposal that Colonel Sackville's articles should be adopted, which was at last agreed upon, with the further proviso that the peace should

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 32, 31st March, 1681, pp. 271-2.

last for four years, and with a few other minor provisions, some favourable to the Garrison and others to the Moors, the principal advantage to the former being the privilege to repair the four Forts. The following is a short abstract of the articles :—

SIR JAMES LESLIE'S ARTICLES OF PEACE.*

At first recites that the peace of 3rd January, only lasting for six months, is now agreed to for four years, according to the following articles :—

1. Peace for four years.
2. Recites that Sackville's peace, made 3rd January, is now agreed to last for four years.
3. No fortifications to be built.
4. The Commander-in-Chief of Tangiers to be allowed to repair the water course.
5. Four more boats to be allowed to carry firewood, in addition to four allowed in other treaty.
6. The Governor of Tangiers to be allowed to repair the four Forts.
7. Cattle to feed in the fields, to go out by Fountain Fort. Not to pass Moors' trenches, or be in danger of their lives.
8. The Alcaide subjects of the Emperor to be allowed to come into Tangiers to buy all kinds of stores, except "greate guns and balls."
9. Leave to fish, same way as first treaty.
10. When Pole Fort is pulled down, leave to be given to cut stone for Mole and wall of the city.
11. Moors to be able to buy and carry out of Tangiers all sorts of contraband articles.
12. Any ships forced ashore between "Burse Almenar and Jews' River to belong to the Moors. If any Moors' ships are forced ashore in Tangier Bay, or within musket shot of the Garrison, to belong to the Garrison."
13. After treaty is signed by Colonel Sackville on behalf of King of "Great Brittany," and Omar Ben Hadon on behalf of King and Emperor Muley Ishmael, it is to be submitted to the Kings, and if they approve of it it is to be confirmed.
14. After treaty is confirmed by the two Kings "the Honble. Col. Kirk to be dispatched, givinge and grantinge unto them out of consideration that they (!) cumm to his Royal Palace the 100 pieces of cloth w^{ch} they weare to pay p^r annum as appears by the articles signed."
15. A copy of this treaty to be delivered to the officer of the field of Tangiers, for his guidance.
16. The 200 muskets to be according to the samples the Moorish Ambassador shall carry with him, and with good English locks. The 120 gumlaks of powder to be delivered once a month, or once in six months, or once a year, to the order of Omar Ben Hadon ; also muskets to be delivered to his order.

Finally, "That inasmuch as all what is mentioned and contayned in this treaty is that we doe oblige ourselves to comply wth the same, and by virtue of

* Dartmouth MSS., 1681-82.

the power that I have from the very powerful King Muley Ismael my master, I seale it with the seale of my name in Arabick letters ; giving and dated in this Royale Court of Mequinez, 29th March, 1681."

Sir James calls Colonel Kirk to witness that he has done his best for the King's service, and to avoid a renewal of the war.

While the Alcaide was treating our Ambassador so rudely, the Emperor was professing the greatest friendship both for him and Colonel Kirk, and amongst his other attentions he gave them the freedom of three more Christian slaves. He also intimated his intention of sending an Ambassador to England, and Sir James requests that a frigate may be ordered to Tangiers to transport the proposed Ambassador to England. The Ambassador tried to get free the poor captive soldiers taken at Tangiers, but the King would not allow them to be ransomed unless all the other captives were taken, and he demanded as the price of their liberty 200 pieces of eight for each man. As there were 130 captives, of which number seventy were soldiers, this made a sum more than the Ambassador had been authorised to give, so the poor fellows were left in their captivity.

Colonel Sackville appears to have received a reproof for not having been friendly with Sir J. Leslie; but he shows how little this had been the case by a letter of Colonel Kirk's, which he encloses, showing that he, the Ambassador, would never have got near the Court of the Moorish Emperor had it not been for Colonel Kirk, whom Colonel Sackville had sent with him. The Governor informs the Lords Commissioners that the money for the Garrison has arrived from Cadiz, and says that upon Colonel Kirk's arrival from Mequinez he purposes at once starting for England. A final letter of Sir James Leslie, of the 19th, to the Lords Commissioners (he had sent one the day before to Sir Leoline Jenkins, relating that the Emperor had refused to sign any other peace than that made by Colonel Sackville, and he had been forced to ratify it) gives further details of his non-success in his mission to the Moorish Court, and states that at his first audience with the Moorish Emperor he told him he might have spared himself the trouble of coming, as he had already concluded peace with Colonel Kirk.

The Alcaide had sent word to Sir James Leslie the day before he made his entry into Fez that the King was satisfied with Colonel's Sackville's peace, and if he came to confirm it it was well, for he should do nothing more. In the letter of the same date to the Lords Commissioners (already referred to), Sir James hopes he may not be censured in his absence if he has not answered their expectations in this business, and when he returns he will demonstrate that it has

been no fault of his, and that he has done all that was possible. He intends to return to England with the Moorish Ambassador.*

Colonel Sackville left Tangiers for England on the 4th of May,† and it may well be said of this officer that he had done great credit to his Majesty's service both as a soldier and a diplomatist.

Colonel Kirk, on assuming the command of the garrison of Tangiers, wrote home for two or three hundred recruits for his regiment, and requested that Major Pope might have an audience of the Lords' Commissioners on this matter.

About the months of April or May, the Moorish Emperor having been informed of the weakness of the garrison through sickness, and the general neglect of the Spanish Post at Marmora (after the death of Philip the Fourth of Spain), sent the Alcaide Omar Hadon with an army to invest it. This General, after capturing two redoubts on the sea side of the town which were only held by twelve men, sent them into the town with a summons to the garrison to surrender, or the whole would be put to the edge of the sword on the arrival of the Emperor, who was also on the march. This so terrified them—as the ferocious nature of Muley Ishmael was so well known—that they capitulated, and the Moors obtained by this success nearly 100 guns and a large supply of arms and ammunition.‡ This made them very insolent and aggressive towards all the Christian colonies in Morocco, and the Tangiers garrison soon began to feel how frail a thing was a Moorish truce. The Emperor is reported to have made use of the following expression: "If he valued Tangiers he would make himself master of it in a single night." Colonel Kirk early

* A curious letter, which was doubtless intended for Lord Dartmouth, is found amongst the Dartmouth papers.¹ It is as follows:—

"Sir,—I thinck nede not give you the truble of recomending Maior Pope,² for I am shuer you are soe well satesfide he is yor humbl^e servant, that you will doe him and the Regement all the faivour you can, and if you will doe me the honour to let his Royall Highnesse know I am only heare to sarfe him, and as he his maid me I will for ever continue his true and fathfull servant, you will not only oblige me but all that I have under my command. Sr I dare not presume to wright to his Highnes my self, but if anything happens heare extraordinary I will not falle to give an accounte of itt, as I am, Sir,

"Your most humble and obedient serv^t

"P. KIRKE.

"*Tanger, 29 April, 1681.*"

† Sir F. Hamilton's History of the Grenadier Guards, Vol. I., p. 248.

‡ Chenier's Recherches Historiques sur les Maures, Vol. III., p. 400.

¹ Dartmouth MSS., 1681-82.

² Town Major, Staff Officer.

in his command made a careful inspection of the defences of the Garrison, as appears from a paper in the Dartmouth MSS. The paper is an interesting one and is here given entire.*

"The South East part is the weakest about the Towne.

"The Stone wall much decayed, the Rampert not above 3 foote broad and a great crack quite through the wall in the Eastward part of the Wall w^{ch} is all over generally defective.

"There is a sally port in the old gate and a small Ravline begun before it but not perfected.

"There lyes before this wall a plane piece of ground about 400 broad and 750 foote long, being about the length of the wall, this measures the Playne to the brow of the land slope that lye before the first vallye.

"On the Eastward poynt of the sand hills the enemye may make a battery to shoote directly into the Mole.

"Cambridge Forte that lyes at the bounds of the place is yet in our possession, and it is proposed to secure this part by making a large detached bastion before the old gate, a counterscarp upon the edge of the plane, and to make that forte a good one and double palizadoes.

"Fountaine Forte is yet ours, it lyes in the S.E. vallye at the Head of the Watering place; it cleares the whole vallye, but is seated so neere the sand hills w^{ch} comand it very much and canot long defend it selfe but may best be protected by a good Battery from Cambridge Forte.

"The Irish Battery is an old flanker with a good Platforme, the Wall is pritty good from the Irish Batterye to Katherina Porte, it should immediately be made broadir and more gun brought upon it, the Parrapet is about a foote thicke, and ought to be made 6 foote thick, when the rampart is mad 24 foote broad the same should be done from ye Irish Battery all along the S.E. Wall.

"From the Irish Battery before the Poynt the graft 60 foote broad (and a 100 foote from thence to Katherina Porte) the oute end is faire, there it is proposed to make a detach'd spurr for the present reaching to the brow of ye hill, this must be built with stone.

"It is designed afterwards to make the Irish battery into a bastion, and to joyne the Elbow of y^e wall in a streight line to the Bastion intended to be made before Katherina Porte.

"Katherina Porte, the Stone worke is in good repaire, but the gates and draw bridge want mending, the draw bridge wanting a counterpoyes and verry difficult to be drawne up, heere is intended to be a large detach'd Bastion and a good graft without as it is layed downe in Sr Bernard De Gromes draft.

"From Katherina Porte to ye Castle the walle in pritty good repaire, but verry narrow, there must immediately be built up a good rampert within it 24 foote broad and the parrapit to be made six foot thick.

"It is 2,200 foote from Katherina Porte to the Castle, so that it wilbe necessary to make a flatt bastion with a verry good battery w^{ch} cleaves all the vallye towards Whitehall.

"Heere is already a battery called Johnson's Battery, w^{ch} must be made much better for the present and the graft betweene Katherine Porte and Johnson's

* Dartmouth MSS., 1681, 1682.



Fort St. Sebastian,
St. John's, Nfld.

The South-East Corner of St. John's

St. John's, Nfld. - The old Fort of St. John's

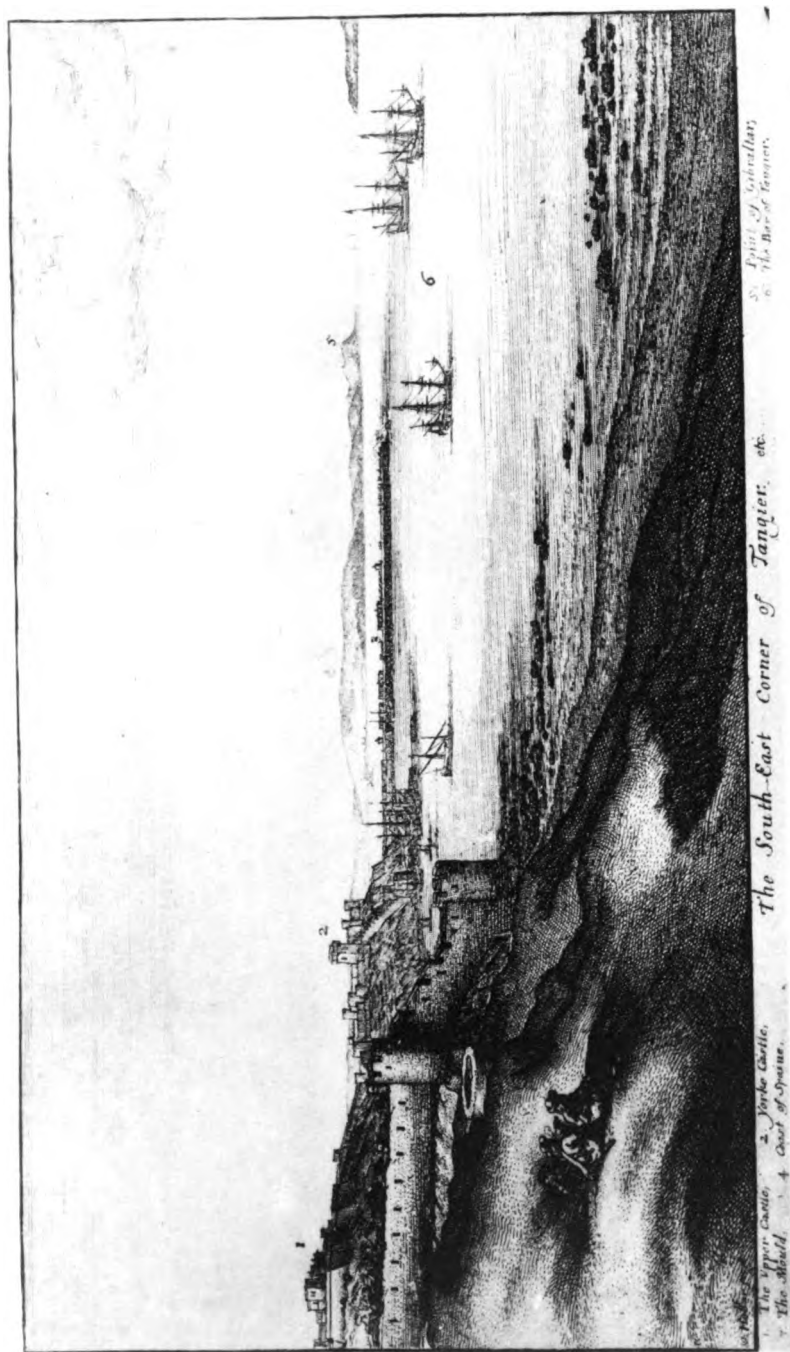
AN

VIEW OF THE SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF ST. JOHN'S

ST. JOHN'S, N.F.D.

The first of these is the fact that the
 system is not a simple one, but a
 complex one, involving many factors
 which are not easily understood or
 explained. The second is the fact
 that the system is not a static one,
 but a dynamic one, which is constantly
 changing and evolving. The third is
 the fact that the system is not a
 uniform one, but a varied one, with
 many different parts and components.
 The fourth is the fact that the system
 is not a perfect one, but an imperfect
 one, with many flaws and defects.
 The fifth is the fact that the system
 is not a simple one, but a complex
 one, involving many factors which
 are not easily understood or explained.
 The sixth is the fact that the system
 is not a static one, but a dynamic
 one, which is constantly changing and
 evolving. The seventh is the fact
 that the system is not a uniform one,
 but a varied one, with many different
 parts and components. The eighth is
 the fact that the system is not a
 perfect one, but an imperfect one,
 with many flaws and defects. The
 ninth is the fact that the system is
 not a simple one, but a complex one,
 involving many factors which are not
 easily understood or explained. The
 tenth is the fact that the system is
 not a static one, but a dynamic one,
 which is constantly changing and
 evolving.

* Continued on next page



VIEW OF THE SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF TANGIER.

From the Engraving by Hollar in the Royal Library at Windsor.

battery must be made broader as soone as possibly it can be in a streight line from the outside of y^e Graft lying between Johnson's battery and the Castle w^{ch} is 120 foote broad.

"The wall (from the angle of the bastion in the Castle to y^e first little bastion of ye place called Peeterburrow Towne, is in ill repare and severall great crackes through it. There wants a rampert to be made within it of 24 foot thick a parra-pet of 6 foot and the wall to be pressantly mended, the wall at this small flanker stands upon a sloped rock and is very low so that it wilbe necessary to be presently raised higher.

"The fronte of Peeterburrow Towne is in good repare and the Platformes serviceable.

"There is a broad graft before this place lyned with stone on the outward part, there lyes a small ravline before it and a counterscarp pallizadoned with out, w^{ch} may serve for the present, but the workes in this place ought to be much stronger and must be quite differently fortified from what it now is.

"There is a Casmate by Peeterburrow towne with a baye flank w^{ch} ought presantly to be filled up and a battery to be brought upon it. The travers wall from the Castle to the sea side ought imediately to be repaired and the redoubt made more servisable.

"There is a little redout upon the first poynt of the counterscarp from w^{ch} a wall with a flanker is built and is in good repare.

"It is proposed that the ravline before Peeterburrow towne may be wanted for lodging men at present and the poynt reddy to be blowne up when it cannot be longer req^d.

"The wall of the Castle from the Travers wall ought to be repaired and heerafter a counterscarp to be made without it.

"The wall from the Castle to Yorke Castle is in verry ill condicon and must be repaired.

"The Castle on the inside toward the Towne doth want reparing, and the cas-mates to be filled up.

"Mem^d all the amunicons and stores for the whole Garrison lye in one place, w^{ch} must presently be altered.

"York Castle is the store house and quite out of repare."

Colonel Kirk, writing home on the 4th of June, says that he hopes that Colonel Sackville's accounts of all their wants will soon be attended to, as, although the Moors have made a peace for four years, yet they are not to be trusted, and the better prepared the Garrison is for resistance the better they will keep the peace.

The new Governor wrote the Moorish Emperor a long letter, on the 2nd of July, asking him to agree to allow him to redeem the Christian slaves by giving an equal number of the Moors they had captured; but it does not appear from the correspondence that this proposition was agreed to.

Colonel Sackville's representations as to the requirements of the Garrison seem to have made some little impression, as at a meeting of the Privy Council on the 7th of July the orders were sent to the Lords Commissioners to at once raise 200 recruits, and to send them

as they were raised to the Tower of London, from whence they were to be shipped to Tangiers.

The correspondence home in July from the garrison refers to various matters of minor interest—amongst others, that Sir James Leslie resigns his post as Ambassador; that the Moors and the garrison have a number of disputes about the treaty, principally because of our not having sent them the cloth agreed upon. Colonel Kirk, in order to settle that matter, ordered the cloth to be supplied by the Tangiers merchants, and directed them to send the bills home to be paid by the Treasury.

The Moors had massed some troops before L'Arrache, with evident designs upon the place; reports coming in give the numbers of troops as from 7,000 to 8,000.

Our powerful enemy the Alcaide Omar, who had up to this time enjoyed the full favour of his capricious monarch, and had been loaded with honours, having also been made Viceroy of all that part of the Empire round Tangiers, at last fell into disgrace, and, while conducting the operations before L'Arrache, some of the black troops composing the selected body-guard of the Emperor suddenly appeared in the Moors' camp, seized, with great violence, the unhappy Alcaide, and, treating him with the greatest contempt, hurried him out of camp to the Emperor. The army upon this immediately broke up and dispersed.

Colonel Kirk, in informing the Council at home of this disgrace of our powerful enemy, writes, "If the Alcaide is cut off it would be for the good of the Garrison, for he was the chief, if not the only, man who opposed the interests of this place." Not long after the news of the fall of the Alcaide, a young Moor of high rank, Muley Hamet Ben Mahomet Ben Fidel Ben Muley Ali, a Cherif, and nephew of the Emperor, came into the Garrison, a fugitive from the Court of Morocco. It appears he had been so enraged at the Emperor's deciding a dispute against him that he swore he would leave the Emperor's service, and live amongst the English. Colonel Kirk received him with distinction, and gave him rooms in the garrison befitting his rank, and at the same time wrote to the Emperor and the Alcaide informing them of his arrival. The Emperor soon made it evident that he was most desirous of getting back his nephew, and instructed the Alcaide to urge his being delivered up, writing also himself to the same effect. The Governor thought it a good occasion, on his part, to urge the settlement of the long-pending Ambassador's question, and, on various pretences, deferred delivering up the fugitive, giving as a principal reason that he was desirous of

having his safety assured; though the young Moor very soon repented his action, and himself wished to return.

Colonel Kirk received a letter from the Alcaide stating that the Ambassador would start as soon as the young Cherif was delivered up; and in this letter he also requested that a doctor should be sent to him from Tangiers, as he (the Alcaide) was ill. It would appear from the correspondence that the Emperor had, in the usual Moorish manner, been making the Alcaide disgorge the fortune that he had amassed in his service, that the Alcaide was resisting, and the usual brutal pressure was being applied. On the 20th of October, the Alcaide, whose fate appeared to have depended a good deal upon the success of his endeavours to get back the young Cherif, sent his Secretary to Tangiers, who, by several artifices and pretended instructions, endeavoured to get the Governor's consent to deliver up the Moor, but was met at all points by Colonel Kirk, who held firm in his refusal until the Ambassador arrived. At last the Secretary confessed that on this matter depended his master's only hope of being re-established in the Emperor's favour. Upon this Colonel Kirk, thinking only of the interests of the garrison, which he considered would be jeopardised by a continued refusal, delivered up the Moor, and, the usual unmeaning and fulsome compliments having passed between them, the emissary and the noble departed. The Governor, after the Moor had been liberated, received an order of the Privy Council, dated the 14th of October, that he was not to deliver him up without an exchange of the fugitives who had deserted from the garrison to the Moorish Court. Alas for the Alcaide! no sooner was the Moor at liberty than news came of his (the Alcaide's) death, and with it the report that he had died by poison. On the 3rd of November the Governor sent home this news and the several reports on the subject, but added that the Emperor honoured his funeral with his presence, and had confirmed the Alcaide's two brothers in their appointments—Cidi Ali Ben Abdala in the Governorship of Alcazar, and Cidi Joseph Governor or Alcaide of Tetuan. There can be little doubt that the brutal Emperor poisoned the unhappy Alcaide in order to relieve himself of the promises he made to obtain the release of his kinsman, as well as to rid himself of a servant who he thought had become too powerful. The late Alcaide was no doubt a bitter and unscrupulous enemy of the English, and he and our first foe, Gayland, divide between them the honours of the numerous fights and struggles that the retention of the garrison of Tangiers cost us. Both were able men, and born rulers, and both, although they undoubtedly won many victories over the garrison, had to own that, even with their greater

resources in fighting material, our spirit, aided with our better arms, enabled the little garrison to hold its own, even when it seemed impossible.

The action of the Governor in some matters had been disapproved of by the Council at home. At a meeting at Whitehall, on the 5th of September, it was noted—1st, that the Council utterly dislike the overtures made on our side to take cattle in exchange for Moors; 2nd, that the present Colonel Kirk made to the Emperor of six Moorish slaves is not well approved by the Lords Commissioners. They also inform the Governor that he must not set the other Moorish slaves at liberty till the Ambassador arrives; that his Majesty has not yet decided the ultimate strength of the Horse in Tangiers; and that a strong representation has been made to him respecting the great arrears of two years' pay due to the Garrison.

After numerous false alarms about the arrival of the Ambassador, on the 21st of November Colonel Kirk had notice of his approach, conducted by the Alcaide, Ali Ben Abdala, the new Viceroy of the country round Tangiers (brother of the late Alcaide Omar). Colonel Kirk, having written to know when he might expect the Ambassador, received a reply on the 23rd, at night, that he had just arrived, upon which the Governor fired a salute from the guns on the walls. In the suite of the Ambassador was an English renegade, named Jonas [Lucas?], who had twice deserted from the garrison, and who it was contemplated to take to England as secretary and interpreter to the Ambassador. This impudent proposal was strongly opposed by the Governor, who represented, with other cogent reasons, how "indecent" it would be, to say the least, that this man should appear at the Court of a King he had betrayed and deserted. After some trouble, the man, whom Kirk calls "a subtle and impudent villain," was directed to be left behind, and, all matters being arranged, the Ambassador made his public entry into Tangiers.

Colonel Kirk had taken some pains to make this entry as imposing as possible. Between eleven and twelve on the morning of the 28th he rode out to meet the Ambassador, and conduct him into the town. The procession was composed of four troops of horse, in front, then fifty chosen grenadiers of the Earl of Dumbarton's Regiment, next thirty gunners in their new livery coats and caps, followed by thirty negroes in painted coats; then came Colonel Kirk, attended by twenty gentlemen well mounted, and six men of tallest stature on each side of his horse armed with long fusils.

The procession marched past Fountain Fort until they were within musket shot of the Moors' party, which consisted of about 200 horse

with lances, when they halted, and the Ambassador, with about thirty persons, advanced to meet Colonel Kirk. After the usual compliments and a visit to the Alcaide, the Moorish escort paid the Garrison the compliment of the usual powder play, "Lab-el-baroda."* The Alcaide and his party then departed, and the Ambassador, with his train, proceeded with the English into the town. As they passed Bridges Fort a gun blazed out a salute from Pole Fort, and at the same time a volley of small shot was fired. When they arrived at the entrance to the town at Katherine gate, the guns thundered from Peterborough Tower. On the entrance of the procession into the town, they were met by the Mayor and the Corporation, "the Recorder welcoming him with a speech." On their way through the town to the water gate, they found the streets lined with the Scots Regiment and the 2nd Battalion of the 2nd Tangiers Regiment, and at this time there was another salute from the guns on the walls, and also from those on the Mole. On arriving at the little Parade, the Town Militia, "who appeared very well in arms," were drawn up, and in the old Parade the two battalions of the Governor's Regiment were formed up; before the Castle gate

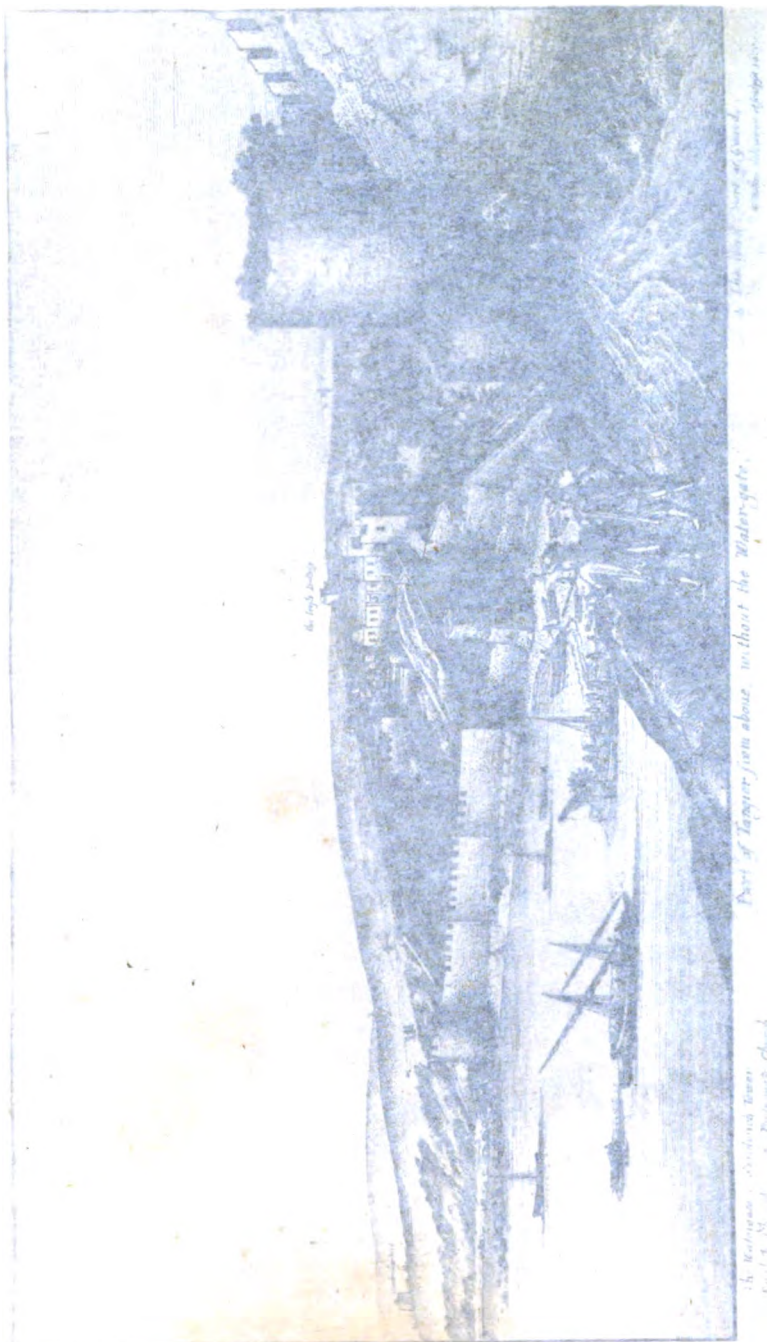
* An excellent account of this "Powder play" is given in a most entertaining book called "Morocco, its People and Places," by Edmondo de Amicis, published by Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., and translated from the original Italian by C. Rollin-Tilton. The account is as follows :—"They charged in couples by tens, one by one, in the bottom of the valley, on the hills, in front, and at the sides of the caravan, forwards and backwards, firing and yelling without cessation. In a few minutes the valley was as full of the smoke and smell of powder as a battle-field. On every side horses pranced, arms glittered, mantles floated, and red, yellow, green, blue, and orange caftans mingled with the shine of sabres and poignards. One by one they darted by, like winged phantoms, old and young, men of colossal proportions, strange and terrible figures, erect in their stirrups, with heads thrown back, hair streaming in the wind, and muskets held aloft; and each as he discharged his piece gave a savage cry, which the interpreter translated for us :—'Have a care!' 'Oh my mother!' 'In the name of God!' 'I kill thee!' 'Thou art dead!' 'I am avenged!' Some dedicated the shot to a special purpose or person :—'To my master!' 'To my horse!' 'To my dead!' 'To my sweetheart!' They fired up and down, and behind, bending and twisting as though they had been tied to the saddle. Here and there one would loose his turban or his mantle, and he would turn in full career and pick it up with the point of his musket. Some threw their guns up in the air and caught them as they fell. Their looks and gestures were like those of men mad with drink, and risking their lives in a sort of joyful fury. Most of the horses dripped blood from their bellies, and the feet and stirrups and extremities of the mantles of the riders were all bloody. Some faces in that multitude impressed themselves upon my memory from the first. Among others a young man with a Cyclopean head and an immense pair of shoulders, dressed in a rose coloured caftan, and

was the 1st Battalion of the 2nd Tangiers Regiment. "The way into the Castle was lined with Grenadiers with their muskets rested, their bayonets in the muzzles. As soon as the Ambassador entered the Castle, salutes were fired from guns on the walls towards Peterborough Tower. The four troops of Horse that had formed the escort, and the King's Battalion of guards, were drawn up before the Castle, the Officers saluting the Ambassador as he entered the Court gate. At the foot of the stairs leading to the apartments the Gunners with their linstocks were drawn up on the left, and dismounted troopers with their carbines on the right. On the stairs were also twenty dismounted troopers. After passing through the great Hall and being shown his apartments, Colonel Kirk led him to a large open gallery, from whence he could see the whole Town, Bay, and Mole, and he was then saluted with three volleys from every Regiment. Being again led into the great Hall, the Officers of each Regiment were introduced to him, and he then retired to his apartments, the day being ended with a display of fireworks." * The Ambassador was extremely satisfied with his reception and the accommodation found for him. The next day Colonel Kirk paid a visit to the Alcaide, and had an hour's conference with him. He also wrote home on the 2nd of December (the Ambassador appears to have put the Garrison to considerable expense by a longer stay than was expected), saying that he had had to pay over the remainder of the powder (forty-five barrels) agreed upon by the treaty, as the Ambassador had urged it, and that he had been obliged, in consequence of the expense of the Embassy, to draw on the Treasury for one thousand pieces of eight.†

who emitted a succession of roars like those of a wounded lion ; a lad of fifteen, handsome, bareheaded, and all in white, who passed three times crying, ' My God ! My God ! ' a long bony old man, with a most ill-omened visage, who flew by with half-shut eyes and a satanic grin upon his face, as if he carried the plague behind him ; a black, all eyes and teeth, with a monstrous scar across his forehead, who writhed furiously about in his saddle, as if to free himself from the clutch of some invisible hand." (Pp. 121-2.)

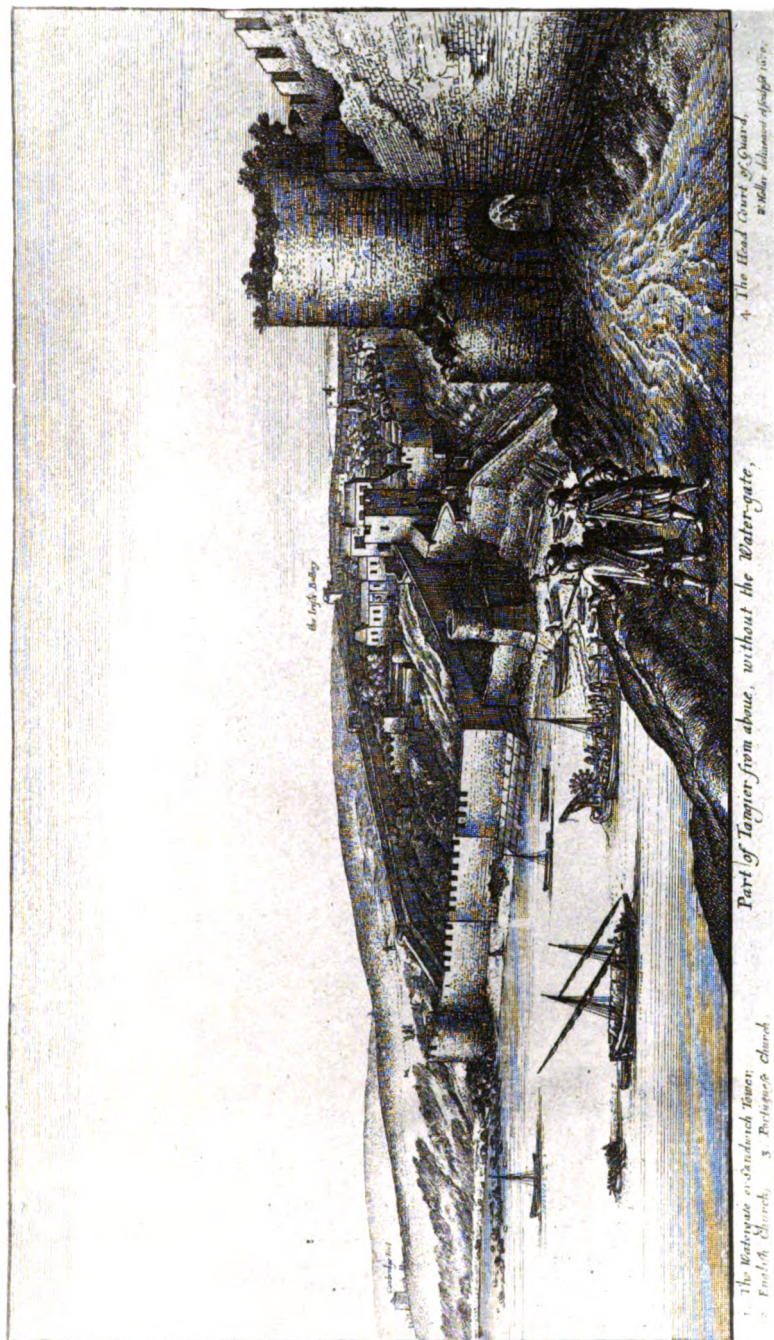
* London *Gazette*, 2nd December, 1681.

† Colonel Kirk sent home Mr. Povey on the 10th with instructions to give a full account of the condition of the Garrison, and he also writes in the letter for some good gunners. "I hope you will be soe kinde as to assist us in especially in a master gunner and some good gunners, for of 33 thaire is not 10 knows the Gunne from the carriage, and now Mr. Povey is gon thaire is not 2 men in towne understands anything of the art of gunnery." He also begs that Mr. Povey may be returned to him as soon as possible after he has given a true account of the place.—Dartmouth MSS., 1681-82.



VIEW OF TANGIER TAKEN FROM VITRO

Engraved by J. G. Smith



VIEW OF TANGIER. TAKEN FROM WITHOUT THE WATERGATE.

From the Engraving by Hollar in the Royal Library at Windsor.

On the 15th of December he writes to Sir Leoline Jenkins cautioning him against the character of the Ambassador and his suite, saying that "no trust or credit should be given to the bare word (though ever solemnly given) of the Morocco Ambassador and his people."

The Embassy arrived in England on the 31st of December, and Sir James Leslie, in writing from Deal, where they landed, to Sir Leoline Jenkins, says that the Moor wished to go to London by land as he has suffered so much from the sea voyage.*

Considerable disturbances appear to have taken place amongst the officers of the garrison at the latter end of the year, and after reporting these disturbances Colonel Kirk was ordered to cashier two Ensigns who had fought a duel (Ensigns Pitt and Elliot), John Leily was appointed to succeed Elliot as Ensign in Sir James Leslie's company, and David Roche as Ensign in place of Pitt in Captain Ely's company. Percy Kirk, Colonel Kirk's kinsman, was appointed Ensign in Captain Fox's company. Proclamations had been issued to prevent disorders by soldiers quarrelling. Colonel Kirk had therefore been obliged to call a Council of War of all the field officers in the garrison, and it was decided that if any soldier should draw his sword or bayonet in a quarrel he should be delivered to the Marshal to have a chain fastened to his leg and be daily sent to the King's work until the Commander-in-Chief should think his punishment sufficient.

It would appear that some officers were allowed to go home with the Ambassador, on leave, but a complaint was at the same time made that there were officers already at home overstaying their leave.

The Emperor wrote a letter to Colonel Kirk, in December, thanking him for sending back the Cherif, informing him of his sending the Ambassador, and asking for some guns that had been promised him. The capacity of the Moors for receiving presents at any time and of anything appears to have been unbounded.

* In the account of secret service money received and paid in the reign of Charles II. and James II., published by the Camden Society from a MS. in the possession of William Selby Lowndes, Esq., is an account of presents made to the Ambassador, as follows: "To Sir Charles Cotterell, Knight, Master of the Ceremonies, 1,350 guineys, to be by him disposed as follows, viz.: to the Ambassador from the Emperor of Morocco, 1,000 guineys; to his companion 100 guineys; to his secretary 100 guineys, to his interpreter 109 guineys; and to buy coates, &c., for 20^{ty} of his servants, 50 guineys" (p. 54). There is also an item of £10 to Gideon Roger for "writing and flourishing, partly in gold, a letter to the Emperor of Fez and Morocco, sent by his Ambassador" (p. 55). The accounts are dated as allowed on 9th August, 1682.

CHAPTER XII.

TANGIERS UNDER THE GOVERNORSHIP OF COLONEL PIERCY
KIRK.

FROM JANUARY TO DECEMBER, 1682.

CONTENTS.—Ransom of English Slaves—Kirk's precautions against Surprise—Moors demand Guns and Ammunition—Petition of Captain Thomas St. John—His long and arduous services—Application of Captain McKeney—Bad Conduct of Ensign Tessin—Kirk's Commission as Governor of Tangiers—Orders to be observed by the Garrison—Directions as to Signals—Further Moorish demands—Officers overstaying their leave—Ensign Elliot serves as Private—Moorish Horse—Return of Moorish Ambassador from England—His demands—Attack by Pirates on an English Ship—Kirk's demand for Satisfaction—List of Officers—Correspondence between the Emperor and Kirk—Strength of the Garrison—Roll of the Governor's Regiment.

THE Alcaide successor of our old enemy, Omar, seems to have tried early in January to oblige Colonel Kirk to serve him with "contraband goods, that is guns, &c.," and when such modest proposals were refused he at once raised the price that had been fixed to ransom the English slaves. A correspondence ensued on this point with the Emperor, who, expressing himself much gratified with the reception of his Ambassador, and being further mollified with the present of some guns (which Kirk found necessary to enable him successfully to carry on his negotiations for the release of the English captives), he ordered that the price arranged, viz., 200 pieces of eight, should be retained.

But in February an unfortunate circumstance occurred which caused him in a great fury to rescind all his promises as to the ransom of the English. This circumstance was that some English vessels trading at Santa Cruz, "where his nephew Muley Hamet's title was supported," had supplied the inhabitants with ammunition and powder. The Emperor on hearing of it gave strict orders that not a single English captive should be released until the King of England ordered

his ships to discontinue this trade with his enemies. The English and Portuguese slaves, with a kind letter and present for Kirk, had left Mequinez and were on their way to Tangiers when this happened, and they were at once ordered back. Poor slaves! before they were again allowed to start on their way to freedom some of them were likely to fall victims to the brutal passions of the Moorish Emperor. He appears to have been greatly incensed at this supply of ammunition to his adversary, as about this time Muley Hamet or Achmet (his nephew) was being well supported, and Kirk writes that the Emperor will have to march towards Suz to "meet that dangerous competitor."

Kirk seems to have been a little afraid that the Emperor's displeasure might cause him to disregard the treaty engagements and again besiege Tangiers, as he strongly urges in his letter dated the 23rd of February to Sir Leoline Jenkins, that "having observed an excellent magazine in the upper castle," he recommends most of the provisions and ammunition to be placed there, "as in case of any accident or surprise (to which the town only is exposed, and wherein our safe retreat is to the upper Castle), it would be a shameful improvidence should we want stores to maintain us there." * He wishes to keep the present magazine supplied also, and wants to know His Majesty's pleasure regarding his proposition. The Alcaide, before the end of February, sent another pressing demand for guns and ammunition, and threatened, if his claim was not complied with, to refuse to supply the garrison with food and fodder. The Commander-in-Chief was still urging the Emperor to ratify the treaty made by his Ambassador in England.

A letter was sent to Sir Leoline Jenkins by Captain St. John, asking him to forward a petition of his to the King, which was as follows † :—

"The humble petition of Captain Thomas St. John of the old Regiment
in Tangier.

"Most Humbly

"Representeth unto your sacred Majesty that your Petitioner hath been these eight-and-twenty years (as well in France and Flanders as in Tangier) an Officer in your Majesties service, which he preferred before a company of Particuliers from Don Juan D'Austria, in Flanders, of which your Majesty was graciously pleased to take notice, and both in Bruges and Brussels courteously to assure your petitioner of a future care of his fortune, of which (in the lowest submission to

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 35, pp. 289-90.

† Idem, pp. 292-3.

your Majesty's pleasure) he now takes the liberty to put your Majesty in mind, and most humbly

"Prayeth that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to grant your petitioner a Brevet for the first vacancy of a Field Officer that may happen in the Regiment wherein he serves, or Town Major when vacant.

"And your Petr will ever pray."

The letter to Sir Leoline recounts more fully his services and the injuries he has received. "And when all is done I do not ask anything from the King, for I do but endeavour to preserve my right, which is but a small request for one that suffered so much as I have done these two years past. At Charles Fort I endured seven weeks' siege, and suffered a mine to be sprung sooner than yield the Fort, and, when all hopes of relief failed, freely sacrificed my life sooner than deliver the arms and ammunition that were in the Fort to the power of the enemy to oppress the town, in which attempt I received a musket shot through the body, whereof scarce cured, when, through pressing necessity, Sir P. Fairborne would have me officiate as Comptroller of Ordnance, in discharging which by accident of a gun that split I received twenty-two wounds, under which I suffered fifteen months together, but much more under the misfortune that I should be the man alone that His Majesty should neglect on such an occasion, whereof I accuse more my own unlucky planet than the King's bounty, having none to put him in mind of it." Poor Captain St. John does seem to have been badly treated for his gallant defence of the Fort Charles. His brave and dashing sortie from there, though much spoken of at the time, did not bring him promotion or reward. Colonel Kirk also sent home about this time a request of Captain McKeney (McKenny) to go home to England to put himself right with the King, who had been told that he was a Roman Catholic, and he is desirous of disproving it, and taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy. Colonel Kirk speaks highly of him, and recommends him to Sir Leoline's notice.

Ensign Tessin seems to have been a most quarrelsome gentleman, judging from a long letter of Colonel Kirk's sent home, in which he relates how he has had to "turn him out of his place for a series of military offences; one was for having 'presumed,' in some company to speak of Captain Giles (a deserving person, and one of the eldest Captains in the old Regiment) in very scurrilous and indecent terms," and for having drawn his sword and wounded one in the company who reproached him for his conduct.

On the 25th of March Colonel Kirk received a copy of the King's commission appointing him Governor of Tangiers, and he expresses

himself as "extremely proud with the honour of so favourable and gracious regard to my small services; nor can I better express my sense of it than by continuing those delightful maxims I have always entertained of devoting all my actions till the last breath of my life to the service and satisfaction of my Royal Master." *

In the Dartmouth MSS. is an interesting paper without date, giving the orders of the new Governor for the protection of the town and its garrison from surprise. It is indorsed "Orders to be observed during the Government of his Ex^{ty} Col. Perrey Kirke," and is as follows:—

"If the sentinell vpon Peterburrough Tower shall att any time see more then tenn Morres togeather he is to give notice thereof by putting out of a fflagg, if the parties soe discovered be Horsse he is to put a Red, and if it be floote a blew flagg, if both horsse and floote, then he shall put out both flaggs, and if he perceiue them to increase numerous then he is to hoyst the greate flagg, not takeing in the other two.

"When any shipp or shipps shall appeare he is to make the vsuall signe as followeth, for one shipp to put out one Ball, and for two shipps two Balls, and for a fletee three Balls, and as soone as he shall perceiue them to stand in for this Port to hoyst the greate flagg.

"If att any time the Officer comandng att Peterburrough Tower shall in the night be surprized by the approaching of an enemye nere to Walls, or shall receive advertisem^t thereof from Paules ffort or any out Guards, he shall cause the greate Bell to be rung out and his Drum to beate Allarum, w^{ch} Allarum is to be taken by all the drums of the Guarrison, and the whole Guarrisson imediately to repaire to their Allarum Posts.

"All y^e quarters in the Castle, both Officers and souldiers, vpon such an Allarum given, in what company soever, is to draw vp in one Batalion vpon the Parrade vnd^r Peterburrough Tower the Grannaders of the Governors regiment, vpon the Right hand of the Batallion, and all to be commanded by him that shall there be found Officer-in-Cheife.

"The Horss y^t quarters in the Castle to draw vp by the fforageing Port, and noe Gate of the Castle to be opened till the Governo^rs orders.

"That part of the Governo^rs regiment that quarters in the Towne takes there Allarum posts att the Parrade by Chivershall, where Coll. Boynton is to take care to forme them into one Batallion.

"My Lord Dunbarton's Regim^t vpon the Old Parrade.

"The King's Battalion vpon the Markett Place.

"Coll. Trelawneye's regiment vpon the parrade by Hyde's Battery, and his

* The date of Colonel Kirk's Commission in command of the Governor's Regiment does not, as in the case of most of the Tangiers Governors, coincide with his appointment as Governor, as in the Public Record Office is found the following entry: "Piercy Kirk, Esq^r Captain Gen^l and Com^r-in-Chief of our City of Tangier to be Col. of that Regiment whereof Sir Palmes Fairborne, K^t, was Colonel."—April 19th, 1682, Scott's British Army, Vol. III., p. 427 (note) and Military History, 1681-88. Domestic Entry Book. This date also is given in Cannon's History, as that on which Colonel Kirk succeeded to the command of the Regiment.

Grannadeers at Catharina drawne vp fower deepe, and Captain Netbey's troope to be drawne vpon the Reere of the Grannaders, the Guard att Katterina to be drawn vpon a single rank fronting from the Guards, soe that the intervaile betwixt them and the Grannadeers may be large enough for the Horsses to march through vpon any occasion.

"My Lord Dunbarton's Grannaders to be drawne vp in one rank by Catherina, the right hand of them not exceeding Coll. Boynton's doore, and soe to the left downe toward the Market-place.

"Cap^t McKenny and Cap^t Langston's troopes vpon the Parrade and before there castcomes fronting from the Toun wall.

"The Burgers vpon the Little Parrade before Consull Earleeman's doerr."

Another paper,* gives "Methods observed in his Maties Garrison of Tang whilst under the command of his Excell^{cie} Coll. Perry Kirke," and is as follows:—

"Drumms to beate about halfe an hower after Trevalley.

"The Detachm^{ts} for the Guards to march of from there severall allarum posts in halfe an hower after the parrade, excepting the day's whereon they exercise, which are to be Mondayes, Thursdayes, and Satturdayes, the men that are not for the Guard joyne with them, and are excercized by the Leiveten^{ts} successively, and soe to the Ensignes, after about an howers excercize the adjutant marches them to the Parrade.

"The parrade is commanded by a ffeild officer, beginning wth the eldest in the Guarreson, and soe to the Commanders of Batalions.

"The duties att the parrade is the excercize of the men, wch is performed by the eldest Capt. mounting the parrade successively to the youngest as they dayly mount there, mounting two Captaines each day; after excercize they draw vp to prayers, from wch being reduc'd into a marching order, they march to the Markett place where the severall Guards are detach't either by the Towne Major or Adjutant of the Govern^{ts} Regiment one of which ever setting the parrade and detaching the Guards.

"There is a Gunner who is dayly upon the Guard on each Baterye, Quarter-master of horsses, a Corporall, and fowerteene of the Troopers are dayly att the parrade, being such as want horsses, they mount with their fuzees, there post of Guard being att fforreging post in the Castle.

"The ffeild officer, or he that commanded the parrade, goes the grand round and orders all other rounds in the Towne.

"The Captaine of Paule forte, the Capt. of the Mayne Guard, and the Lieve-tenn^t who commands in the Castle, givs an account each morneing after their releife of what hath happenned on there severall guards to the Govern^r.

"Att the opening of Catherina Gate there is to be constantly a Corporall of Horsses and fower Troopers mounted, who, as soone as the Gate and Barreers are opened, ride forth round the Lynes, and if anything extraordinary of the Moores appeare, they are forthwith to returne into the Guarrison, the officer to give the Govern^r an account what he hath seene. The Corporall is to take care that every two houres in the day time he sends out two Troopers both to ride the rounds of y^e Lynes, dilligently observe the behaviour of the Moores returning an

* Dartmouth MSS., 1681 and 1682.



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account to their officer, and the going of the rounds they are to seize on all such souldiers as they shall find in the feilds, either stragling from the Towne or the out poste of Guards, and to deliver all such souldiers prison^{rs} to the Mayne Guard in the Toune, the officers commanding that Guard to give the Govern^r an account of them."

Endorsed—"Methods observed in Coll. Kirkes time."

Another paper * contains "Signes to (be) Observed," and is as follows:—

"When a great Gun shalbe fired from y^e Govern^{rs} Bastion, and tenn stroakes of a Bell wch shalbe vpon the same Bastion, y^e King's battallion shall immediately repaire to their allarum posts.

"If 20 stroakes of the Bell after y^e Greate gunn, my Lord Dunbarton's Regim^t.

"If 30 stroakes the Govern^{rs} regim^t.

"If 40 stroakes Coll. Trelawneys Regim^t.

"If the Bell shall ring out after the greate Gunn fired, then all the Grannaders to be att their allarum posts.

"If two greate gunns fired from the Bastion then all the horsse to be att there allarum posts.

"If one Gun fired from the Bastion and the greate bell att Peterburrough shall ring out then the whole Guarrison and the Burgers to bee att there allarum posts, all the signes to be observed without beate of drum or sound of Trumpett.

"Att y^e ringing of the little bell vpon y^e Bastion without firing of a Gunn al the Gunners to bee att there allarum posts, but if the Bell be only tould they are to repaire to the Castle.

"If a Gun fired from Staines (!) battery, all ye Burgers to repaire to there allarum posts.

"The officer vpon the mayne guard is to be dilligent in observing y^t if any regiment, Troopes, Grannadeers, Gunners, or Burgers shall mistake the allarum by the signes soe given y^t he immediately send to y^e Comand^r of any such regim^t or Troope to acquaint them therewith.

"If att any time a musquett shalbe fired in ye night the officer the next Guard herevnto is immediately to enquire the reason of it and give an account to the Capt. of the Mayne Guard, if in ye Toune, if in the Castle to the Govern^r.

"If att any time three musquetts shalbe fired from y^e Top of y^e wall above forageing post then all the officers and Souldiers in the Castle to repaire to their allarum posts vnd^r Peterburrough Tower.

"When a greate Gunn shalbe fired from y^e Govern^{rs} Battery and a coulers put vpon ye Topp of ye Bell then all those men appoynted for ye Briggarteene shall immediately repaire to ye queene staires on the Mole, and there attend further orders; if any on such allarum shalbe on ye Guards the officer on such post shall forthwith permitt them to give up their parade."

Endorsed—"Signes to bee observed," &c.

An amusing attempt was again made by the Alcaide to extort arms and ammunition from Colonel Kirk, by sending an Almocaden to

* Dartmouth MSS., 1681 and 1682.

confer with Kirk's secretary, informing him, after a long palaver, that unless they got arms the supplies of food would be stopped. As the demand was again refused, some poultry was stopped at the Stockades, whereupon Colonel Kirk at once wrote to the Alcaide informing him that if this had been done by his orders he should consider it an absolute infraction of the Peace, and would hold the Alcaide responsible for it; and that he would find that he, Colonel Kirk, knew how to protect his master's honour, and to give a good account of the trust reposed in him. This very soon brought back the Almocaden with a very humble apology to the Secretary, and with the apparent untruth that the act had been done by his authority and not the Alcaide's, and that he had kept back Colonel Kirk's letter from the latter fearing his displeasure. Colonel Kirk remarks in his letter home that he had found out all had been done by the Alcaide's orders, but he had acted in this manner through his subordinate, so that he could retreat from his point without dishonour. The dishonour of an untruth being quite another matter to a Moor.

Colonel Kirk complains in May of officers overstaying their leave and thus throwing extra work on their comrades, and inconveniencing the garrison generally. Among the list, the Queen's Officers thus absent are:—

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| “Major Laselye (Leslie). | Ensign Laselye (Leslie). |
| Captain George Wingfield. | Ensign Faireborn. |
| Lient. Westcombe. | Ensign Roach. |
| Lient. Wilson (in slavery in Barbary). | Ensign Middleton.” |

One of these, Lieutenant Wilson, would no doubt have been only too happy to have joined his Regiment. The Moorish Emperor was as overbearing and unjust in the matter of exchanges of captives as in all other matters; as Kirk writes that, with reference to the Moorish captives in their hands, though the Ambassador of the Emperor in England may arrange for their being freed, he is bold enough to affirm that, while we redeem our people with ready money, he will expect his own countrymen as a present.

Ensign Elliot, who had been discharged from the service of the garrison in consequence of a quarrel, proceeded home this month, and with a letter from the Governor recommending him to the King's notice to be preferred to the first colours that should fall here (*i.e.* the first Ensign's commission vacant), as he had since his fault made satisfaction by serving as a private soldier in the same company with credit and distinction.

It would appear from Colonel Kirk's letters that the Moors' Horse

in the late war had given our foot soldiers a good deal of trouble, and by "the vigour of their attacks, the strangeness of their arms, their quickness and agility in their pursuits," had made them rather disinclined to face them. He therefore urges that the cavalry strength of the garrison should be kept up, and says that the English and Spanish recruits of horse gave new life and courage to the garrison.

It is sad to notice complaints of Englishmen furnishing the Moors with contraband of war. Colonel Kirk instances several cases in his letters home, in which he finds undoubted evidence of this in some bills of lading that came into his hands, and naturally expresses his great indignation on the subject and asks protection from it. He gives some names, but it is not necessary to produce them here.

The Moorish Ambassador, on his return, appears to have arrived at Tangiers, with the treaty called the "Whitehall Treaty," about the 20th of August, and it was not long before difficulties arose out of it.

As anticipated by Colonel Kirk, the Moorish captives were to be delivered to the Ambassador without any charge for them. He fears that the two separate articles about fortifying and delivering up the English captives will not be consented to by the Emperor. The delivery of the Moorish captives so denuded the garrison of labourers that the soldiers had to be employed on work previously done by the slaves. The arrival of the Ambassador at Tangiers appears to have been pregnant with troubles, and in view of possible complications the Governor wrote home desiring that all officers should be ordered to repair to their respective commands at Tangiers.

The first disagreement appears to have been the refusal of the Governor to deliver up a quantity of gunpowder that the Ambassador had brought over with him, and which he, not being able to pay, wanted Colonel Kirk to become security for, a proposition which he refused to entertain; so the Ambassador had to depart on his journey to the Emperor without the powder, and with the knowledge that the Alcaide had been endeavouring to prejudice the Emperor against him.

A more serious matter happened two days after the Ambassador departed, he having left on the 11th of February. An English vessel, which was within pistol shot of the Mole, was boarded by a Moorish brigantine, which had been cruising about for several days. Several armed men went directly to the cabin, and seized the master and another who was with him. Fortunately some of the crew were able to escape in the ship's boat, and to give an alarm to the Guards on the Mole, who at once opened fire on the brigantine,

under the orders of the Governor, who was soon on the spot. The Moors, finding their plot discovered, made off, but carried away as prisoners the Captain and the man who was with him. Colonel Kirk spent the night in investigating the matter, and in the morning dispatched Captain Fox after the Ambassador, with a complaint of "so rude and treacherous an insult," and asking for explanations. It would appear that it was intended to carry off the vessel that brought the powder, and was a plot of the Alcaide Ali Ben Abdala and the English renegade Lucas, his secretary and interpreter, with the concurrence no doubt of the Ambassador. As soon as the Ambassador arrived at Alcazar he sent an express to the Governor saying he could go no further till he had the powder, on which Kirk replied that nothing should go out of the gates of Tangiers until he had satisfaction for the injury done to his master's honour. Captain Fox returned on the evening of the 20th with the captives and also a soldier who had been "trepasned" from our lines. The Alcaide caused the chief actors in the affront to be beaten before him, sending also a letter signifying what he had done, and requesting that the powder belonging to the Ambassador might be sent on. Colonel Kirk still requiring satisfaction the Alcaide brought the men in chains to show the Governor that they were still under punishment, and Kirk, not being able to exact further reparation for the affront, at last agreed to deliver up the powder. He did not omit, however, writing to the Emperor demanding proper satisfaction for the outrage in the Bay of Tangiers, and against Moorish pirates in general. He also sent a letter to the Ambassador to show to the Emperor, relating instances in which the Alcaide had broken the articles of peace; but it does not appear from the papers that he got any satisfaction.

The Emperor appears to have been dissatisfied with his Ambassador, for after his return he was most cruelly treated, and instead of ratifying the treaty the Emperor requested, no doubt in view of more presents, that the Duke of Albemarle might be sent to Morocco to receive personally his approval of the treaty. Kirk writes home that he sees no advantage at all in sending any Ambassador, but strongly urges, in view of the critical state of things, that the garrison should be strengthened by Horse from Spain or elsewhere, and complains of being very short of powder.

The Emperor wrote a long letter to the King of England repeating his request for an Ambassador, and quoting largely from the Koran; to which the King replied that as the treaty (and all things relating to it) had already been concluded by the Moorish Ambassador he sees no occasion for another, and threatens that unless the Emperor orders his

corsairs to cease plundering British ships he will give strict orders that the English trade is protected and the offenders punished.*

The following is a list of officers belonging to the Garrison who had leave to go on board the frigates *Dartmouth* and *Pearl* by the 20th of December:—

| | |
|---|---------------------------|
| “ Captain Mackeny,
Captain Langton,
Cornet Wyndham
(with one arm), | } Belonging to the Horse. |
| Major Pope. | Captain Winkfield. |
| Captain Stroud. | Captain Mathews. |
| Captain Leasleigh. | Ensign Lunt. |
| Captain Ansloe. | Lieutenant Nicholls. |
| Captain Griffith. | Corporal Dennis. |

Sir James Leslie is in Scotland.

Captain Russel is in the country.

Ensign Middleton, I cannot find his lodging.

Ensign Lashly, condemned, is reprieved.

“ 15th December, 1682.”

A remark at bottom of this list says, “ All the above said officers are in great extremity for want of money, being very near sixteen months in arrears.”†

A voluminous correspondence took place this month between the Emperor and Colonel Kirk, the former trying presents, cajolery, and threats, to get the Governor to procure for him further presents from the English. In one of his letters he makes out that he is entitled to presents for not molesting Tangiers. In another he sends word he has sent a present of two young lions to Kirk, and adds, “ We are informed that three coach horses have been sent to us, which not being a full set we desire another of the same kind may be sent without fail and with all speed.”‡ In another he praises Kirk, and says that when he first saw him “ of the whiteness and cleanness of his heart so that you can desire nothing of me that I will not readily grant you because I esteem you to be the best of all

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 36, pp. 303-4. † Idem, p. 304.

‡ These horses were no doubt to furnish the carriage sent by the King of England to the Emperor by the Moorish Ambassador, which Sir Charles Cottrell purchased for his new ally, the Moorish Emperor. The amount paid “ for the coach he bought which his said late Ma^{tie} gave to the Morocco Ambassadour to be by him presented to the Emperor of Morocco ” was £212.—Money Received and Paid for Secret Services of Charles II. and James II., p. 61.

Christians that ever were," and at last threatening Tangiers and pretending that Colonel Kirk was the first to break off the commerce by land, he disowns a peace by sea, and refuses to restore one of our ships taken by the corsairs till he hears if his Majesty desire one or not. Kirk replies at length in a letter in which he recapitulates the various promises of the Emperor and the Alcaide to maintain peace at sea till news should be heard from the King of England, while at the same time the corsairs were plundering our merchantmen, and that he is glad to find the King's ships have begun to employ themselves for the protection of his subjects' commerce.

It must have been a painful and degrading task to continue negotiations with the Moors, to whom the value of a word or bond had no meaning, while high-sounding praises of their sacredness were ever on their lips and in their letters.*

* In the Dartmouth MSS. there is a valuable paper containing a complete list of the troops, according to a muster roll taken on the 1st December, 1682. This muster roll gives the total number of troops in the Garrison as 3,411, composed as follows :—

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------|------------|-----|-------|
| 5 | Companies of the Battalion of Guards | ... | ... | ... | 379 |
| 20 | " " Dumbarton's Regiment | ... | ... | ... | 916 |
| 16 | " " The Governor's Regiment | ... | ... | ... | 779 |
| 16 | " " Col. Piercy Kirk's Regiment | ... | ... | ... | 619 |
| 1 | " " Captain Bassett's Miners | ... | ... | ... | 31 |
| | Gunners | ... | ... | ... | 33 |
| Total Infantry, rank and file | | | | | 2,757 |
| Non-Commissioned officers | | | | | 475 |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | Mounted, | Unmounted, | | |
| 4 | Troops of Horse | ... | ... | ... | 179 |
| | | 79 | 100 | | |
| | | | | | 3,411 |

The detail of the Governor's Regiment, or 2nd Queen's, was as follows :—

| | | |
|------------------------------|-----|-----------|
| | | Soldiers. |
| " Governor's Company | ... | 47 |
| Lieutenant-Colonel Boynton's | ... | 45 |
| Major Sir James Lashley | ... | 60 |
| Captain Gyle | ... | 59 |
| Captain St. John | ... | 53 |
| Captain Ely | ... | 47 |
| Captain Rowes | ... | 40 |
| Captain Talbotts | ... | 42 |
| Captain Chantrells | ... | 45 |
| Captain Tates | ... | 45 |
| Captain Gaye | ... | 43 |
| Captain Burgesse | ... | 66 |
| Captain George Winfield | ... | 36 |
| Captain Barber | ... | 49 |
| Captain Mathews | ... | 46 |
| Captain Charles Winfield | ... | 56 |
| | | 779 |

CHAPTER XIII.

ARRIVAL OF LORD DARTMOUTH AND PREPARATIONS FOR THE
WITHDRAWAL OF THE GARRISON.

FROM JANUARY TO OCTOBER, 1683.

CONTENTS.—The Whitehall Treaty—Endeavours to obtain release of Captives—List of Ships and Crews—Moorish Excuses for Delay—Alarm Posts and Stores—Emperor's Opinion of Kirk—Frequent Quarrels in Garrison—Fighting between Emperor and his Nephew Muley Achmet—Pepys ordered to Tangiers—Departure of Lord Dartmouth—His Commission as Admiral, Captain-General, and Commander-in-Chief—Instructions for Demolition of Tangiers—Services of English Fleet—Dr. Kerr the Chaplain—Arrival of Lord Dartmouth at Tangiers—Kirk's Report—Interview between the Alcaide and Lord Dartmouth—Imposing Parade—Roll of Officers and Officials Present—A General Survey Ordered—Estimated Cost of Repairs—Report of Commission against retaining Tangiers—Proclamation by Lord Dartmouth—Reply of the Inhabitants—Price of Horses—Address of the Governor, Officers, and Soldiers of the Garrison.

WE now come to the closing portion of the occupation of Tangiers and of the services of the Second Queen's Regiment in Africa, and by the surrender of this place a chance was for ever lost of sending light and civilization into this part of the dark continent. The record of our occupation of Tangiers cannot even by the most prejudiced historian be considered altogether creditable to the British nation, but it certainly shows the indomitable pertinacious valour of the troops engaged there, and their enterprise in the initiation of the great work of the Mole to help to protect the commerce of the seas. Had it not been for the religious jealousies of the time, and the difficulties of the Government of the newly-restored Monarchy (which were much increased by King Charles's neglect to observe at least a shadow of the Puritan virtues that had been the great feature of the Commonwealth), we should have retained our rule over the northern part of the great continent of Africa; and it is not too much to say that in that case they would not be in the backward state of civilization

in which they are now. An Empire might have been formed here as powerful for good as our Indian Empire is in the East. The inference is not an out-of-the-way one, for Bombay, which came to us with Catherine's dowry, is now one of the capital cities of our great Empire. Ought not Tangiers to have been in the same position in our African Colony? The difficulties of its position, though, were great, as will be seen from the drawings and from the opinions of Pepys and others who came over unbiased, by not having to depend for employment by its retention. It only wanted a proper force to defend the place, a settled Government, and the tribes and people living round it would ere long have turned to its rulers for safety and protection from the barbarous and inhuman despots to whom they had to submit. Even now, according to the accounts received from Tangiers, they are still under laws that are apparently only made for slaves.

The early part of 1683 was much taken up by disputes with the Emperor as to the proper execution of the Whitehall Treaty, and also by the promised "Treaty by Sea." The Moorish ruler still held the one hundred and thirty English and twenty Portuguese slaves that he had solemnly contracted to release. An English officer, Lieutenant Nicholson, was sent to the Moorish Court with instructions to urge a settlement of the Treaty, and a strong representation was also sent for the release of the captives.

Admiral Herbert had returned to the Bay of Tangiers with his Fleet at the end of 1682, and was engaged in protecting the commerce of the place from the Algerine pirates and corsairs. In view of the Tangiers expedition a list of the ships and their capacity had been prepared, of which the following is a copy :—

"The present Disposal of His Matie Shippes in sea pay :—"

| Shippes. | Men. | Tunnes
and
Tunnage. | [? Troops.] |
|----------------------------|------|---------------------------|-------------|
| <i>Henrietta</i> | 200 | 1,024 | 250 |
| <i>Happy Return</i> | 185 | 806 | 200 |
| <i>Dartmouth</i> | 115 | 346 | 115 |
| <i>Dover</i> | 150 | 738 | 160 |
| <i>Pearl</i> | 110 | 380 | 090 |
| <i>Mary Ross</i> | 200 | 704 | 200 |
| <i>Rosenoe</i> | 200 | 684 | 160 |
| <i>Dyamind</i> | 150 | 726 | 200 |
| <i>Centurion</i> | 150 | 708 | 200 |
| <i>Woolwich</i> | 185 | 978 | 250 |

* Dartmouth MSS., 1683.

| Shippes. | Men. | Tunnes. | [? Troops.] |
|--------------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| <i>Swallow</i> | 200 | 724 | 200 |
| <i>James, Galley</i> | 200 | 562 | 150 |
| <i>Crowne</i> | 150 | 714 | 200 |
| <i>Tyzer, Prize</i> | 150 | 556 | 120 |
| <i>Saphyre</i> | 145 | 460 | 120 |
| <i>Swanne</i> | 90 | 337 | 100 |
| One of the new 3 Ratos (l) ... | 280 | 1,406 | 300 |
| | <u>2,860</u> | <u>11,853</u> | <u>3,015</u> |

M^d.—These 3 additional ships for 4 months come to 7,236 :—

| Shippes. | Men. | Tunnes. | |
|-------------------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>Plymouth</i> | 200 | 983 | 250 |
| <i>Oxford</i> | 180 | 1,008 | 230 |
| <i>St. David</i> | 160 | 861 | 200 |
| | <u>540</u> | <u>2,852</u> | <u>680</u> |

or shippes of equal or like burden.

| | | |
|--|-----|------------|
| To be provided by y ^e Admiralty, Two Hospital ships | ... | 300 |
| To be provided by the Ordnance Office, The Horse ships | ... | 200 |
| | | <u>500</u> |

The Garrison of Tangier by Decem^{br} muster last apprai (l) to be ... 3,411
 The Townsmen, &c., are said to be 0,600

Total 4,011

The ships to be employed this summer will bring off besides their owne complements (which is to be reduced to as low comp^t as reasonably can be) the number of 3,015
 The additional ships 0,680
 The Hospital „ 0,300
 The Horse „ 0,200
 Total 4,195

“Two or three small craft to be sent (with these ships) that are already in his Mayties service.”

An account of the ammuniton to be shipped, together with what is remaining at “y^e Larrum Posts,” gives the following particulars :— *

* Dartmouth MSS., 1683.

| Larrum Post at | Hand
Granadoes. | Powder. | Musket
Shot. | Match. |
|--|--------------------|------------|-----------------|---------|
| Peterborow Tower | 450 | 2 barrels. | 3 cwt. | 1½ cwt. |
| Lanson's Battery | — | — | 1 " | ½ " |
| Johnson's do. | 250 | — | — | — |
| Irish do. | — | ½ cwt. | — | ½ cwt. |
| Catherine Gate | 950 | — | 2 cwt. | 1½ " |
| Catherine Spurr | 750 | 1½ cwt. | 1 " | ½ " |
| Col. Trelawny's Parade ... | 200 | — | ½ " | 2 " |
| Spur without y ^e Castle ... | 150 | 1½ cwt. | — | ½ " |

A note says, "Hand grenade for Pendennis 2,000 fixt."

An undated paper, about this period, gives the following list of guns at Tangiers :—

| | |
|-------------------------|----|
| "Cannon of 7 in. | 1 |
| Demy Cannon | 1 |
| Culverings | 28 |
| Demy Culverings | 62 |
| Sakor | 10 |
| Falcon | 5 |
| 12-Pounders | 25 |
| 6-Pounders | 6 |
| 3-Pounders | 2 |
| Falconnett | 6 |

"Municon, viz. :—Corn powder for y^e Ordnance. For Small arms for 1,600. 500 Musketts, Matchlocks. 500 Muskets, Snaphauners. The Matchlocks are valued at 15s. each, and the Snaphauners at 17s. each."

The Emperor had again to take up arms against his troublesome nephew, Achmet or Hamet, and various rumours were soon afloat in the bazaars of Tangiers; some asserting that he was defeated and was dead, others that he was in a dangerous position, and was in full retreat and two days' march from Morocco. Colonel Kirk's letters home to Sir Leoline Jenkins are full of the efforts he was making through all sources to get the Emperor's signature to the treaty; but he was met at all points by lame excuses and subterfuges enough assuredly to try the patience of any one, much less a fiery soldier like Kirk. It appears the letter of the King of England was displeasing to the Emperor; no doubt it expressed in plain terms the King's disgust at the prevarication and delay, and insisted upon either its ratification or definite proposals.

In this month another of the characteristic letters of the Emperor was sent to Colonel Kirk, in which, after the usual high-flown compliments following the high and mighty virtues assumed to be possessed by the Emperor, he goes on to say that the King had "written a letter, and answered him in terms he did not expect." He tells Kirk he wishes he was of his religion; "for thy discretion, courtesy and wisdom, has given thee an entrance into my heart, and I never desired any Christian to be of my religion but thyself." He disclaims any idea of making a sea treaty, and refers to his confidence that Kirk should see to his having a thousand quintals of powder, "which you are to negotiate for me for my money, and are to prefer my business before any other." He assures him that the peace for four years shall be well observed when Kirk is at Tangiers, or after, if he desires it. Kirk writes to Sir Leoline Jenkins, with reference to this letter, that he does not know if the letter is written to amuse him, and keep the English ships without action till his ships shall have gone to sea, or whether it is written with a view to another Embassy being sent, with the usual presents.

Quarrels amongst the officers of the garrison were now unfortunately frequent; Captains Stroud and Johnson fought with swords, and the latter was wounded. In another encounter Lieutenant La Rue (in Captain Mackenny's troop) having had some hard words spoken of him by Captain Preston, of the Earl of Dumbarton's Regiment, when they met in the street of Tangiers, La Rue struck Captain Preston with his hand, and they then at once fought with their swords, the latter receiving a mortal wound, of which he died in a few minutes, La Rue being handed over to the civil power for punishment. He was acquitted, and, Colonel Kirk having dismissed him, he was allowed to go home to place his case before the King.

A further disturbance happened in June between Lieutenant Robinson of the Guards Regiment and Ensign Avery of Colonel Trelawny's Regiment, both of whom were on guard at Pole Fort; a duel was arranged and they fought in the fields. A Council of War condemned Avery, as he was the aggressor, to be cashiered, Ensign Gordou (in Trelawny's Regiment) was also cashiered for aiding and abetting it, and Lieutenant Robinson was suspended.

A rumour reached the garrison on the 31st of May, through Captain Row of the old (Tangier) Regiment, that in England they began to have no regard for them in Tangiers, and that they would shortly be abandoned. No doubt the news of the anxiety in Parliament about the rumours of Tangiers being a place for preparing Popish soldiers, and the discussions about the expense of the colony and the

opposition to its retention, had reached Tangiers and was the origin of these rumours.*

The Emperor was still at war with his nephew, and had unwarily advanced so far into the country of Suz that he could neither proceed nor make a safe retreat. The country was almost denuded of supplies, "so he will be obliged soon to retreat, and Muley Achmet will be able to fall upon him before he gets into the passages of the mountains." His enemy was within the walls of Tarudant, and the Emperor could not advance against it as he had already suffered a great defeat from a sally made from the town. Muley Achmet being well provided with supplies it looked serious for the fortunes of the Emperor; fears were also entertained of a revolt against his rule by the people of Morocco.

In July Pepys received the King's commands to proceed to Portsmouth within forty-eight hours, there to join the Earl of Dartmouth and the fleet for Tangiers. He began his "Memoranda and General Minutes on setting out from London, on July 30th, 1683, to my departure from Tangiers towards Cadiz, in December following." Writing from Portsmouth to John Evelyn, on the 7th of August, he says he is well pleased with his errand. "What our work, nevertheless, is, I am not solicitous to learn, nor forward to make griefs at, it being handled by our masters as a secret." Evelyn replies to his friend in a most interesting letter, dated Sayes Court, 10th August, 1683, asking him to inquire "of medals and inscriptions, especially what may be found about old Tangier."† He also asks him to remind Mr. Shere of the "poor gardener," if

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 40, p. 312. An evidence of the state of the Garrison may be gleaned from some petitions sent in this month, amongst others one from Thomas Povey that he may get his pay, two and a half years overdue, also his disbursements. Povey (so great is the state of poverty in Tangiers) actually asks for orders to defray charge of getting up 7,000 culverin shot which had fallen into the sea from the Mole, and which he says if not recovered, "will soon be lost in the sand."—Dartmouth MSS.

† Smith's Life, Journals and Correspondence of Sam. Pepys, Vol. 1, pp. 325-7.

NOTE.—An instance of the high-handed proceedings of the Spaniards was given in the month of June by the Spanish fleet in the Bay of Cadiz. Captain Cloudesley Shovel, who had been ordered there to wait for Lieutenant Nicholson on his return from England, was peremptorily ordered to salute the Spanish admiral. Shovel took no notice of the demand, when he was fired upon, and all the guns of the fleet and town were directed on his ship to sink it. Finding he had no chance of resisting he complied with the demand, and "fired seven guns but was not answered by any guns." The circumstance was made the subject of a strong remonstrance, and a suitable apology was afterwards given.

he should "happen on any kernels or seeds of such trees and plants (especially evergreens) as grow about those precincts," and suggests to him to try and discover some of the famous citrine trees that of old grew about the foot of Mount Atlas, not far from Tingis, and relating that Cicero had a table made out of the wood, costing ten thousand sesterces (about £125), another table of the same wood costing £1,750.

On the 2nd of July, the King signed Lord Dartmouth's Commission* as "Admiral, Captain-General, Governor, and Commander-in-Chief" of Tangiers, and on the same date long and precise detailed instructions were given to him for his conduct in the expedition to demolish the place and bring away its troops and people.

He was to repair, "with all convenient speed on board our man-of-war, called the *Grafton*," and to take command of the "Fleet lying in the Downs or elsewhere upon the coast attending and appointed for this present expedition." He was to "wear the Union Flag at the main topmast head of the ship you shall be on board of," and to sail away with all speed for Tangiers, &c.

2. Upon arrival there he was to take upon himself "the Execution of the Peace and Trust of Captain-General, Commander-in-Chief, and Governor of our s^d City of Tanger, and of all our Forces there," and to inform the present Governor and all in authority there of his Majesty's resolve to abandon and demolish the place, &c.

3. A general muster was to be taken of the troops in the Garrison, and to see that officers and soldiers receive their shares in such pay as the "Lords Com^{rs} of our Treasury shall be able to send them by yo^r conveyance," &c.

4. A true estimate and valuation of the Estates was to be made, so as to enable "some Reasonable Compensation (as in our princely compassion we intend to doe) to our good subjects," for their rights and interests, &c.

5. Three persons to be appointed to settle claims for compensation.

6. First to be considered to have a right to be settled with were to be the Portuguese and other strangers, "whose Indemnity is provided for by the Treaty that we made with the Crown of Portugal," &c.

7 and 8 paragraphs deal with instructions as to care and shipment of Portuguese and strangers, &c.

9 to 11 deals with instructions as to care and transport of the inhabitants of Tangiers and their families, &c.

* Dartmouth MSS., 1683.

12. "After that the magistrates, officers, and inhabitants of the City are embarked and dispos'd of," then the troops are to be shipped, "The Scotch Regt and also the Irish forces to be transported directly into our Kingdome of Ireland." * Special care is ordered to be taken of the aged, sick, and maimed, who are to be put on board the "Hospital Ships," &c.

13. While inhabitants and troops are being shipped, preparations are to be made for demolishing the town, mole, fortifications, &c.

14. Great care to be exercised in "concealing of the great ends of this expedition from the Moors," &c.

15. When troops, &c., shipped, and town and mole destroyed, to return home with the fleet and give an account of the expedition, &c.

16. Gives the Governor full power, if he sees it necessary, to alter and amend the instructions, "because in the execution of so great a work many difficulties will arise w^{ch} cannot be foreseen," &c.

The instructions are signed "By His Ma^{ties} comand, L. JENKINS," and endorsed "Instructions to George Lord Dartmouth, for the demolition of Tangiers."

On the 10th of July instructions were signed for Sir John Berry to assist Colonel Kirk to demolish Tangiers in case of Lord Dartmouth's death.

The first letter† from Lord Dartmouth to Sir Leoline Jenkins in the Tangiers papers is dated from Portsmouth, the 4th of August, in which he states that he is getting ready for sea, and in two or three days, "I should like to start with part of the fleet, as I am desirous of bringing the news of the intending rendition of Tangiers myself." The same day he received a letter from Lord Sunderland ordering him not to sail till further orders. On the 11th he writes again to Secretary Jenkins expressing his gratitude for the most extraordinary kindness he ever received in his life, and in his note he refers to the project there was, when he was sent for to Windsor on the Tangiers affair, to give the place up to Portugal, which would, he said, have raised up "jealousies of a trick with France in most men's minds." He promises to so order it that when he leaves the place it shall be no re-annoyance to Christendom, "at least in our age, and I hope the forces I bring from thence, or so many of them as shall be necessary, will be continued at a far easier charge to the protection of his Crown and safety for

* These instructions for the disposition of the Scotch Regiment were afterwards altered. On 27th July it was ordered to be "landed at any part of the West that wind and weather will permit."

† Tangiers State Papers, No. 40, pp. 316-17.



GEORGE LEGGE LORD DARTMOUTH.
ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET
BORN 1642.
DIED IN THE TOWER OF LONDON 1697.

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GEORGE LEGGE LORD DARTMOUTH.

ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET.

BORN 1647.

DIED IN THE TOWER OF LONDON 1691.

the rest of his reign," and which, he says, cannot "but be prosperous if the true advantage of the conspiracy be taken, and I only fear the spoiling of it all at Whitehall, from whence all his Majesty's misfortunes have hitherto come. Pray forgive for meddling thus far, but it is meant with true and sincere service to the King, whose bread I eat and think it my duty to think of serving him all the ways I am capable of."*

Colonel Kirk sent home by Mr. Churchill his congratulations and those of the garrison on the King's happy deliverance from the dangers of the conspiracy, and he writes in his letter to Sir Leoline Jenkins:—"We have all of us given in this place public marks of the excess of our satisfaction by the loudest acclamation, and most solemn testimonies we have been capable of, which we hope His Majesty will graciously accept."†

The Alcaide was still actively intriguing. Kirk complains of his

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 40, pp. 317-18. The conspiracy here referred to was the great Whig conspiracy, which had for its design the overthrow of the Government. Arrangements had been made for a general rising in London, Cheshire, Bristol, and Newcastle; but while the great Whig leaders were making their arrangements, a few desperate characters laid a plot, called the Rye House Plot, to assassinate the King and his brother as they returned from Newmarket, at a farm-house called the Rye, belonging to Rumbold, a maltster. Keeling, a vintner, communicated to one of the Secretaries of State the details of the plot, and some of the inferior persons accused were first apprehended, and then the consequences of the plot extended to the whole of the Opposition Whig leaders. The tragic death of Essex by his own hand, the equally tragic death of the noble Russell and the courageous Sydney, are such familiar events in history that it is not necessary to refer to them further here. The infamous Judge Jeffreys first makes his prominent appearance by being appointed Judge at Sydney's trial; but later on, after the death of Charles, he is made ever infamous by his brutality on the Rebellion trials, when Monmouth discovered that it was a far different thing to be found out plotting with the great Whigs against his father than to be in insurrection against his uncle. He paid for his mistake with his life.

† Macaulay says with reference to the plot of assassination:—"A place and time were named; and the details of the butchery were frequently discussed, if not definitely arranged. This scheme was known but to few, and was concealed with especial care from the upright and humane Russell, and from Monmouth, who, though not a man of delicate conscience, would have recoiled with horror from the guilt of parricide."—Macaulay's *History of England*, Vol. I., p. 267.

A curious document, illustrative of the religious differences of the time, is found amongst the Dartmouth MSS. It is a test paper that all officers who received commissions from Lord Dartmouth were required to sign, and began with the declaration that they, in the presence of Almighty God, did not believe in the "transubstantiation of ye elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ."

going so far as to forge letters purporting to come from the Ambassador and the Emperor in order to induce him to agree to a "sea peace" without a formal treaty. Kirk at last was induced to open negotiations with the Alcaide, and appointed Sir James Leslie, Captain Thomas St. John, Mr. Frederick Bacher (Judge Advocate), and Mr. Martin, as his commissioners, to meet twelve of the Moors in a tent within the garrison bounds. At the end of three days, no conclusion having been arrived at, Kirk began to perceive that it was only a ruse of the Moors to gain time and keep our frigates safe at Tangiers, in order that some of their grain ships might proceed safely to take supplies to the Emperor, who was reported to be at Messa, near Santa Cruz, and in great straits for food. Some of our frigates had been doing good service; one, the *Sapphire*, Captain Hastings, had driven on shore the Alcaide's own frigate, and taken out of her thirteen Christian slaves, eleven of them English. Kirk wrote to Captain Shovel to desire him to send some frigates to cruise about Messa, and to try and communicate with the Emperor to let him know how his Lieutenant was acting, and if with his orders.

On Friday, the 10th of August, according to Pepys, Lord Dartmouth came on board, and the fleet set sail from Portsmouth, but the winds were so unfavourable that they had not advanced further than Plymouth Sound by the 22nd. On the next day the fleet left the shores of England for Tangiers; Mr. Shere and Major Beckman were on board. During the voyage Major Beckman prepared very elaborate instructions "of what is necessary to get in hand with as soon as please God my Lord shall arrive in Tangier for the demollishing of y^e toune." The document was very elaborate, and went into the most minute particulars. The Chaplain of the Expedition, a Dr. Kerr, whom Pepys calls a "little deaf crooked fellow,"* but who (as Bishop Kerr) was afterwards famous as one of the seven prelates imprisoned and prosecuted for disallowing "the dispensing power" claimed by King James in his Declaration of Independence. On Dr. Kerr's return from Tangiers Charles promoted him to be his Chaplain, and made him Bishop of Bath and Wells, though he had, just before the King made him Bishop, refused the accommodations of his prebendal house to Eleanor Gwynne. Charles showed himself a King by rewarding earnest and courageous Kerr, instead of, as a meaner mind would have done, persecuting and punishing him.

On the 14th of September the fleet arrived in the Bay of Tangiers.

* Smith's Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys. Vol. I., p. 328.

Lord Dartmouth had during the voyage informed Pepys of the King's instructions for destroying Tangiers, and showed him his commission, informing him at the same time that he (Pepys) was appointed his sole counsellor. Colonel Kirk was to receive the same rank on their arrival at Tangiers. Mr. Shere was also, the day before they arrived at Tangiers, made acquainted with the project by Lord Dartmouth, who told Pepys that Shere "took the news with great discretion." Major Beckman's plan for the destruction of Tangiers Lord Dartmouth communicated to Pepys and to Mr. Shere.

On the arrival of the Fleet, which consisted of one-and-twenty sail, at ten a.m. on the 14th of September, the Garrison (Kirk having had notice of their coming by a ship that started after but arrived before them) saluted with all the guns of the town. The Alcaide was found encamped in its vicinity. Pepys' remark on his first view of the town—"But Lord! how could anybody ever think a place fit to be kept at this charge, that, overlooked by so many hills, can never be secured against an enemy"*—gives an idea of the difficulties of the garrison, and the absolute necessity for a large force in order to properly man the out-lying forts which were on the hills commanding the town. On the next day Lord Dartmouth summoned Colonel Kirk to come on board, and told him privately what had been resolved upon. After dinner the same day he opened out the whole matter to Kirk, Dr. Trumbull and Pepys, and held their first Council on the work proposed to be done. The Governor, Pepys says, expressed great readiness in doing his part, and gave excellent advice on the expedition.

Lord Dartmouth two days after his arrival wrote a long letter to Secretary Jenkins, giving his impressions on the state of affairs. He informed him that there was extreme tension between the garrison and the Moors; that the soldiers were until lately healthy, but some 400 were then sick in Hospital, and it was believed that the Moors had been tampering with the old aqueducts which supplied the town with water. The Moors as well as the garrison had heard of the intending rendition of the town, and this news had made them more insolent, and their sentries were making signs to ours that they were ready to blow up the town. The Spaniards were showing some jealousy at so large a fleet being in Tangiers, and had given the English great provocations; and he says, "The English were never known to be so insolently used by any nation as they have

* Smith's Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys. Vol. I., p. 355.

treated His Majesty's own ships, and his subjects lately." The same day, Lord Dartmouth received a long letter from Colonel Kirk, in answer to his request to give him an account of the differences between the Alcaide and himself, of which the following is an abstract :—*

[ABSTRACT]

"Tanger, September the 16th, 1683.

" —Until May last the Alcaide had lived in perfect 'good intelligence' from the time of Lieut. Nicholson's departure for England, about which time the Alcaide took offence at not procuring a quantity of painted glass from England and certain lances from Spain. The season coming on when it was necessary for him (Kirk) to procure straw for the horses, and considering the difficulties in two former years to obtain the same, he desired the Alcaide to give the necessary orders for the same to be delivered, to which reply was sent that when the glass and lances came the straw would be provided. Kirk endeavoured to show how unreasonable the Alcaide's demands were, he (Kirk) not having the power to procure them, except by courtesy, and referred to the Articles of Peace for supply of the straw, but the Alcaide remained inflexible. Whilst messengers were passing to and fro on this subject, Admiral Herbert notified to Col. Kirk that the Moors had recommenced hostilities at sea, and had carried an English vessel into Argiers, and that the Sallee Corsairs were out. Upon this were delivered to Admiral Herbert the orders that had been placed in Kirk's hands by the Lords of the Admiralty, in pursuance of which he was to make war upon the Moors at sea. At this juncture the Alcaide had stopped all communications with the town, not allowing a letter to come in or a person to go out to the country, nor permitting those who were out to return. It then behoved Kirk to stand more upon his guard, and he used the same tactics as the Alcaide ; but ordered all the Moors to leave the town. Upon this the Alcaide expostulated, both by letters and messages, which produced a Conference between persons nominated on both sides, in order to an accommodation. The Moors demanded delivery of the whole arrear of powder as the first step for renewal of correspondence. The English urged that the Alcaide, being the infractor of the peace, should make the first advances towards re-establishing the same ; but we declared that if the Alcaide would allow the English free advantage of the Articles of Peace, particularly that of buying our cattle at the market prices, we were ready to comply with the Articles, &c.

"The Alcaide alleged a continual custom of our buying cattle otherwise. This was pressed as an excuse more in order towards the delivery of so great a quantity of powder, which the Alcaide might have used to the prejudice of the English, &c. Nothing came of this Conference, and the Alcaide departed for Salle to give orders there for the transporting by sea a relief of corn to his Master's army; but apprehending danger from our frigates, and the impossibility of conveying safely those supplies, he imagined he had found a new expedient by using a passport which he (Kirk) had given to the Master of an English vessel in Salle for a voyage to the Levant, to carry a ship of his own laden with corn to Messa, prevailing with the Master and several English seamen to go aboard her, and on their way were taken by the *Dartmouth* frigate. The first Kirk heard of this was from the Alcaide himself pressing for restitution of the ship and lading as taken under his (Kirk's) Seguro. Kirk

* Dartmouth MSS., 1683, January-September.

replied the affairs of the sea were not in his jurisdiction, and that the English captain acted in pursuance of instructions from his superiors, which he (Kirk) could not revoke ; and further, that Kirk's passport had been misapplied, contrary to the purpose for which it was granted. About this time the English frigates made successful operations by sea, and the Alcade made earnest overtures towards an accommodation of all the differences between us, particularly those of the sea ; but, having no especial commission to treat, he (Kirk) judged it best not to let slip this opportunity to treat with the Alcade what might be best for the King's service. The Alcade, after many artifices, which were unsuccessful, came at length into these fields, where an interview took place, and many professions passed on both sides, followed by several Conferences, in order to a formal treaty, the Alcade declaring he had full powers to transact all matters relating to land as well as sea ; but after long discussion of several points, it was found the Alcade had not power, or was unwilling, to alter anything by land ; and, in effect, he showed no great inclination to a sea peace, having proposed only a truce for a few months, or, at most, a peace during the term of the land treaty. During these conferences the Alcade prepared an army, and it is now a month since they have been encamped in these fields, since which time there have been several conferences about the renewing of our intercourse by land, and receding from the point of buying cattle. He (Kirk) proposed having the liberty of digging stone for the Mole, and our houses, or that the people (English) who go over the bounds should not be made captives, or (to prevent the frequent desertion of our soldiers) that the Moorish Guards should be removed from their present posts to the utmost extent of our ancient limits ; but none of these proposals have been listened to by the Alcade, who still professes nothing as an enemy, yet, in spite of his having long used threats without attempting anything, it is evident he is not in a condition for war, and Kirk considers this is a fair opportunity to do the King considerable service in order to raise a general peace upon good foundation, &c."

Lord Dartmouth says his greatest difficulty would be for want of provisions ; he was very short in the fleet, and the garrison, even if there was no waste, having only eight weeks' provisions. Pepys writes in his diary, Monday, the 17th of September, "All the morning writing letters for England. Ten. On shore with my Lord the first time, all the ships and the town firing guns. Met, and conducted in great state to the Castle. After dinner see the ladies mightily changed.* The place an ordinary place, overseen by the Moors. Amazed to think how the King hath lain out all this money upon it. Good grapes and pomegranates from Spain. To night infinitely bit with chincees† (mosquitoes)."

On the 21st Lord Dartmouth writes again to say that no time must be lost in sending more victuals, as it would be impossible for him to make himself secure and to begin to blow up the place, till he is

* Our gay diarist was a great admirer of the fair sex.

† Smith's Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, Vol. I., pp. 357-8.

properly provided. It was not however, until the 20th of October (according to a letter in the Tangiers State Papers from Alderman Sturt, to Secretary Jenkins), that three vessels sailed, and three more were advised to sail on the 27th, with provisions for three months. The same month, Lord Dartmouth writes home complaining of the non-arrival of provisions, and blaming Alderman Sturt, who he says should be answerable to the King for his neglect. "Had the Moors attacked them (as was likely) the case would have been a sad one." He had planned that in case the Alcaide played him any tricks and attacked the town, he would order an attack of the ships on Sallee, which would draw off some of the troops and weaken the strength of the Moors' forces about Tangiers, and so enable the English to go on with the work of demolition while holding the Moors in check. The Alcaide, having written to propose an interview, Lord Dartmouth agreed to meet him, being, as he writes, "willing to see as much as I could what his force was, and what sort of neighbour or enemy I was likely to deal with." On the 28th, therefore, the interview was arranged to come off, and, in order that the English forces might make as brave a show as possible, Lord Dartmouth sent on shore 1,000 of his seamen, in four battalions of about 200 each, besides petty officers, whom he had clothed as soldiers in the new red clothes that had been sent out for the Scotch and Trelawny's Regiment. These, with the troops of the garrison, made up an imposing force of over 4,000 men "besides strong Guards and the burgers left in the town."* The following were the instructions for the parade and conduct of the seamen and fleet:—

"My Lord Dartmouth's Batalion of Sea-men, commanded by Sr William Booth, consisting of 200 men, clothed with white and blew striped linnen, fitted with musketts, pikes, and Pole-axes, with four Union Flaggs.

"Sr John Berry's Batalion commanded by ———, clothed with the Clothes Mr. Hewer shall give, with 4 Irish colours.

"Two other Batalions each consisting of 200 men, clothed with such clothes as the Scotch shall furnish. With 8 Colours of Coll. Trelawny's Regiment.

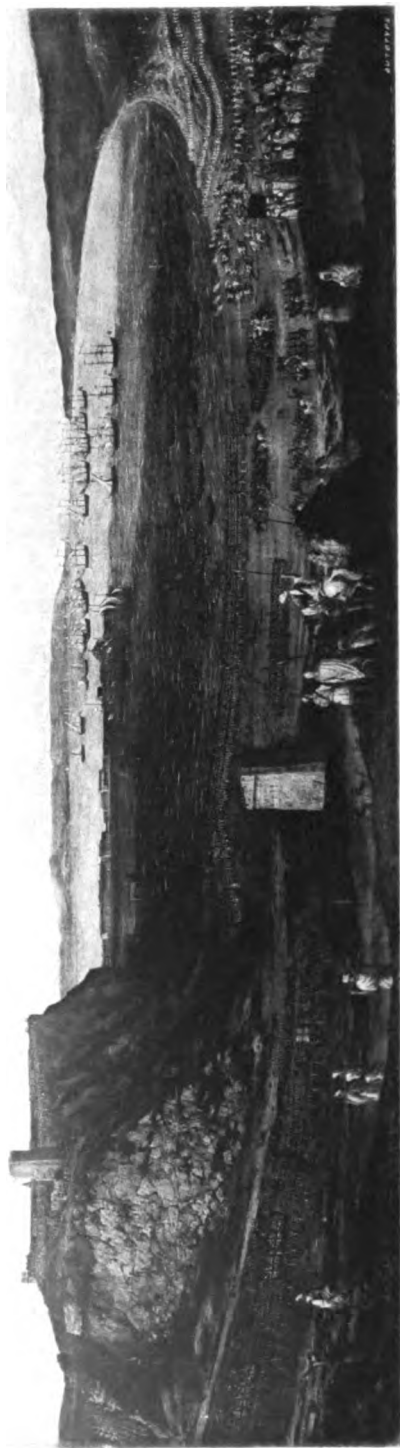
"These four Batalions to be commanded by Sr John Berry.

"All the boats in the fleet to be manned with a Captain to command them, to be armed with Blunderbusses and hand Granadoes, and drawn up as Sr John Berry shall direct for the well flanking of the sands.

"Cap^t Almer and Cap^t Mackdonnell to come into the Bay as near as possible they can with safety.

"Sr John Berry to take a Copy of this paper to call the officers aboard and assign to every one his just post.

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 40, pp. 323-342.



LORD DARTMOUTH'S PARADE AT TANGIER, ON THE 28TH SEPTEMBER, 1688.

From the Original Painting by Sloop, in the possession of Lord Dartmouth.

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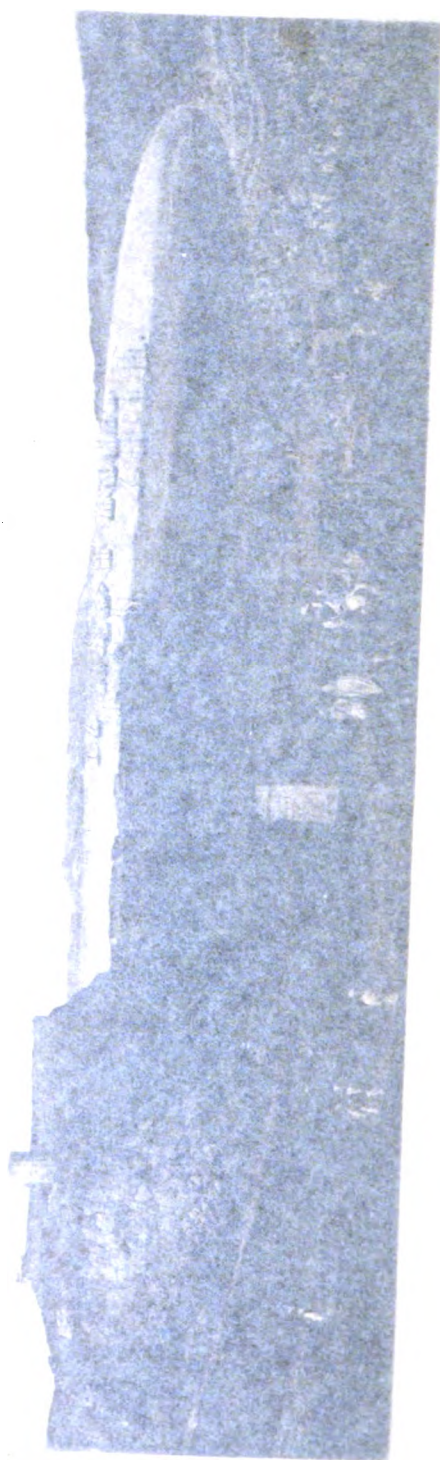


FIG. 1. DART'S PALEO-ANTHROPOLOGICAL MUSEUM, OXFORD, ENGLAND.

"All the men to be drawn up on the sands to the best advantage as Coll. Kirke shall direct.

"All the Ships to fire at the signall Sr John Berry shall appoint.

"That Sr John Berry do to morrow in the afternoon send ashore men of the Gun-room Crew, out of a third rate four, a fourth rate three, a fifth rate two, a sixth rate one, besides a Gunner or Gunner's Mate out of each.

"That the Brigantine be manned with the men of the hulk, to be commanded by Capt Withers.

"The Batalions and men abovementioned to be sent ashore to morrow afternoon. Ordered in Tanger this 26th of Sept., 1683.

"DARTMOUTH.

"To Sr John Berry Commander of his Maties ship the *Henrietta*."

Endorsed—"G. 3, 1490. 26 September, 1683. Direccons to Sr Jno Berry abt bringing ashore and disposing sevll seamen."

The right of the English line rested on Pole Fort, and the left on Fountain Fort; then came the seamen extending from Fountain Fort "all along the sands by the sea-side and the guard boats, and the rest of the boats of the whole fleet commanded by Captain Eylmore, flanked beyond the seamen close in with the shore." About the Irish battery seven small field-pieces were planted pointing towards the sand hills where the Moors were in force. A battalion of Trelawny's Regiment and the gunners were drawn up and posted with the guns. At the end of the line of seamen on the shore Lord Dartmouth had arranged to take his stand with his staff.* The Moors made the best of their troops, which they disposed of very artfully so as to make as great a show as possible. The estimated number of them was 2,500, but they were much stronger in horse than the English. Pepys, who accompanied Lord Dartmouth, relates interesting particulars of the day and his impressions of the Moors and their leaders, who, he says, "appeared like very grave and sober men;" and further on he remarks that "their style is extremely fine and most for compliment."† As soon as the Governor saw the Alcaide approaching he rode down to the Strand attended by Pepys and Lord Barty, who commanded the volunteers, and, "after many

* The interesting illustration (autotyped from one of the pictures in the collection of Lord Dartmouth) on the opposite page represents the scene near the sea on the extreme left of the line. The small fort in the centre of the picture is Fountain Fort. Unfortunately the three pictures of Tangiers, which, with the portrait of Lord Dartmouth, were very kindly lent to the author by the present Lord Dartmouth, are not clear enough to distinguish the details of the troops, but with a glass they can be distinctly made out. The parade of the Moors on the right of the picture is more clearly seen.

† Smith's Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Pepys, Vol. I., pp. 369-72.

compliments from the Alcaide (which they are very much used to), and civilities passed on both sides, Lord Dartmouth desired him and Colonel Kirk to shake hands before both parties, and all differences were promised to be forgot."

The Alcaide evidently did not relish the show, as Lord Dartmouth (from whose letter to Secretary Bennett, dated 19th October, most of these particulars are taken) relates that "with all the kind words which passed, he did not at all like our countenances, for I believe he never saw so formidable a force together since His Majesty had Tangier. The force I have mentioned, the town walls being well lined, and all the fleet being in his eye together, and by that time he drew off and sent Abdila with a party on the Sandhills. Colonel Kirk's two battalions were marched as far as the spur at Peterborough Tower, and the whole body being in motion begirt the whole town round with soldiers (towards him), that we seemed more than what we really were." The Governor remarks quaintly, "Sir, I thought this appearance more to the purpose than entering into cavilings with them, and it hath succeeded as I desired, for they have lived extremely well with us ever since." Pepys writes that at the end of the parade there was "great shooting with small shot on both sides, and on our parting both the fleet and the city saluted them with all their great guns in mighty triumph." Before they parted a treaty was arranged to begin on the morrow. The force the Moor brought with him was not so great as was reported, but Lord Dartmouth found out afterwards that the Alcaide had a party of troops beyond Charles Fort, "whether out of jealousy of us or with any intentions upon us if they had found it convenient, I know not."

The Dartmouth MSS. contain complete lists of the names of all the officers in the different regiments in the garrison, and also give complete musters of all the troops. The numbers in the Governor's regiment have already been given in the musters of December, 1682. The names of the officers on the 1st of October were as follows:—

COLLONELL KIRK'S REGIMENT.

CAPTAINS.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Piercy Kirke, Coll. | Thos. Barbour. |
| Marm ^d Boynton, Lt.-Coll. | Wm. Mathews. |
| Sr John Lesly, Major. | Charles Wingfield. |
| John Giles. | Geo. Talbott. |
| Thos. St. John. | Fran. Chantrel. |
| Brent. Eily (or Eiley). | Zouch Tate. |
| Henry Rowe (or Row). | James Gay. |
| Geo. Wingfield. | John Burgess. |

LIEUTENANTS.

William Berry.
 Geo. Westcombe.
 Henry Withers.
 Jenkin Thomas.
 John Sentions (Webster in
 list of 17th Sept.).
 John Wingfield.
 James Adams.
 Charles Gerrard.
 Rich^d Lawe (or Law).
 Rich^d Bieling (or Billing).
 Wm. Haughton.
 Theob^d Bourgh (or Burke).
 Wm. Norwood.
 Jonⁿ Wilson (or Stunny).
 Jonⁿ Pinckney.
 Phil. Meagher (or Maher).

ENSIGNS.

Sam^l Atkins.
 James Hilton.
 Roger Elliot.
 And^r Mortimer.
 Staff^d Fairborn.
 David Roche (or Roch).
 James Leslie (Penolier in
 list of 17th Sept.).
 Ger^d Fitzgerald.
 Simon Duff.
 Geo. Kirk.
 Nath^l Barber.
 Ant. Senhouse.
 Bern^d Tessin.
 Patrick Farrell.
 Vernon Parker.
 Martin Lester.

THE STAFF OFFICERS, ARTIFICERS, &c., ATTACHED TO COL. KIRK'S REGIMENT.

Thomas Hughes Minister.
 Thos. Lawrence Phisitian.
 Jonⁿ Pope ... Town Major.
 Fred^k Bacher ... Judge Advoca^t and
 Storekeeper.
 James Wiley ... Chirurgeon.
 Wm Pountney ... Prov^t Marshall.
 Edw^d Hughes... Comy Muster.

Ewald Tessin ... Engineer.
 Fran. Povey ... Storekeep.
 Edw^d Pipe ... Fire Maister.
 Ernestus Nowland, Ma^r Carpenter.
 James Hunter ... Ma^r Gunner.
 Rich^d Bassett ... Capt. Miners.
 James Scot ... Gunsmith.

The other Officers in his Matys Pay were :—

Henry Shere ... Surveyor Gen^l of
 the Mole.
 Balt St. Michell ... Agent Gen^l for ye
 Naval affaires.
 John Earlsman ... Comptroller.
 Capt. St. John } Receiv^r Revenue.
 Capt. Chart Collier }
 Thos. Fowler ... Landwaiter.
 Wm. Smith ... Mayor.
 Hen. Hordesuell... Recorder.

Wm. Morgan, Minister } Officers rela-
 Geo. Mercer, { School } ting to the
 Maister } Civil Govt.
 John Eccles ... Usher.
 Geo. Talbot ... Towne Clerke.
 Rd Senhouse ... Pratique M^r.
 Wm. Coggs ... } Sergeants.
 Nath. Johnson }
 Thos. Paine... ... Clerk.
 Edw^d Burne ... Sexton.

Besides the following Staff Officers in Dunbarton's Regiment :—

Frau. Belloe ... Chirurgeon.

Trelawney's Regiment :—

Charles Currell ... Adjutant.
 Hen. Musloe ... Chirurgeon.

Lord Dartmouth, as soon as he had settled his plans, ordered a minute survey of the place to be made on the 2nd October, and

appointed Henry Shere, Esq., as Surveyor-General of His Majesty's Mole and fortifications; Colonel Charles Trelawny, Lieutenant-Colonel Boynton, Major Martin Beckman, Captain John Giles, Mr. Edward Tessin, and Mr. Thomas Philipps, Commissioners. The total estimate for the repairs, fortifications, forces, and contingencies, is given by them, after a complete and careful survey, as £4,798,561 16s. 6d., of which the works would cost £1,297,201 16s. 6d., and the army required to support and guard it for twelve years would cost £3,501,561, which was the time estimated to accomplish the work.* At the end of their report they refer to the very dangerous position the garrison was in, and would always be, in case of hostilities, for want of pure water. The Moors being in possession of the water sources could at any time stop or injure the supply, and so place the garrison in the greatest danger. They further refer to the difficulty of fortifying on the sand-hills which commanded the town, in consequence of their daily increasing in height, some of the Commissioners stating that in their memory fifteen feet in perpendicular height had been added to them by the sand deposits; their summing up being entirely against the expenditure of the large sum named in their estimate. They calculate the works proposed would take twelve years to accomplish, and would require an army to protect them of 8,000 Foot and 2,000 Horse. On the 3rd of October Lord Dartmouth also gave instructions to Sir John Berry, Knight, commander of His Majesty's ship *Henrietta*, and to all the other captains of ships under his command, to inspect the Mole, and to report to him as to its capacity to be useful and advantageous in His Majesty's Service "on the receiving, careening, and preserving his ships." On the 13th the commanders sent in their report, which stated that in their opinion Tangiers Mole was too near "the great ocean" for it ever to be possible to make it a permanent and safe structure except at great cost, and that now it was advanced beyond the ledge of rocks which formed a natural breakwater, the evils were immensely increased. They further fear, from their observations, that even if finished, it would be difficult to preserve it from choking up with sand, except at great cost. They finally refer to the water question, which they consider a most serious one, as only two or three ships could in any reasonable time be supplied with water, and that not good for drinking. They therefore consider the place "altogether useless to His Majesty for receiving, careening, or preserving His Majesty's ships." The report is signed by John Berry, H. Killigrew, Will Booth, Henry Priestman, Thomas

* See Appendix F, and Tangiers State Papers, No. 40, p. 324.

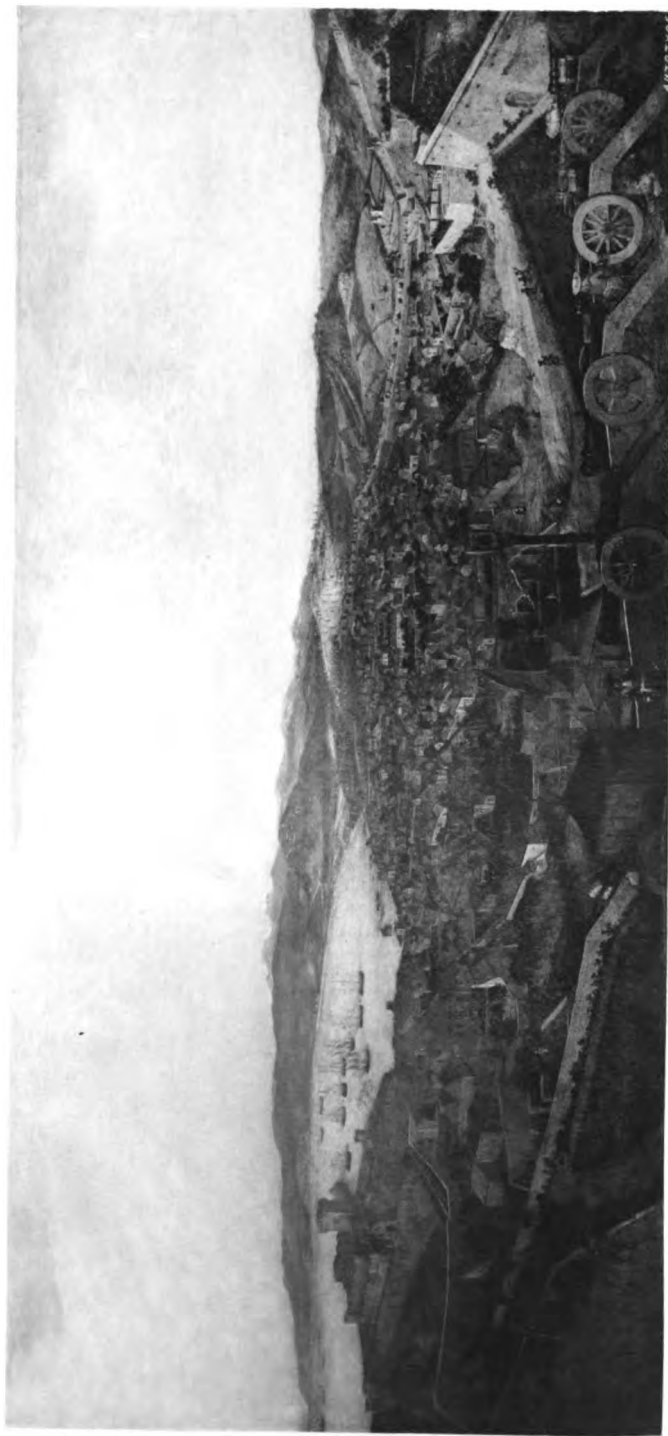


VIEW OF THE SAND HILLS.

W. J. P. 1897, 1898, 1899.

[illegible]

* See Appendix E, and Tangiers State Papers, No. 49, p. 524.



A VIEW OF TANGIER LOOKING TOWARDS THE SAND HILLS.

From the Original Painting by Sloop, in the possession of Lord Dartmouth.

Fowler, J. Wyburne, John Ashby, Thomas Fowler, Charles Wild, Thomas Hamilton, M. Aylmer, Henry Carnerth, Thomas Hobson, John Tirrell, George Aylmer, Anthony Hastings, G. St. Lo, G. Roorke, William Botham, Francis Wheeler, Daniel Jones, William Gifford, Andrew Michel, Daniel Deering, Thomas Leighton, Rand. Mackdonnel, and Thomas Spragg.

On the 4th of October, Lord Dartmouth issued his proclamation to the Mayor, Aldermen, and the Corporation of the City of Tangiers, informing them of his Majesty's Commission, ordering him to draw off and to bring back all his subjects, both soldiers and inhabitants, and then forthwith to demolish and utterly destroy the place, Mole, and Harbour. The Proclamation goes on to say that though the King has gone to great expense and trouble to make it "a secure habitation, a commodious harbour, and a place for trade to flourish in," yet the results have been so discouraging, and so many brave men's lives have been lost in defence of the town, which is now in so ruinous a state as to make it dangerous to live in, owing to the hostility of the Moors. He informs them of the great care he is instructed by the King to observe in removing the inhabitants, their families and goods, to where they wish to go, and that the soldiers will be removed last, so that the place might be protected against the Moors in case they should attack during the preparations for removal.*

On the 8th they returned an answer, in which they express their deep gratitude to the King for his care and consideration of them,† in rescuing them from "their present fears and future calamities, in recalling them from scarcity to plenty, from danger to security, from

* In the Dartmouth MSS. is an interesting paper, which first gives "considerations inviting the King to y^e incoming proprietor of Tangiers," and which in five elaborate articles gives a full account of reasons, the most particular being the hope of trade with Africa, and a secure harbour for the King's ships, and recites that the cost of Tangiers in the twenty years past has been £1,600,000 "more than all the garrisons of England." This is followed by an account of the inquiry the King thought fit to make, when to his surprise it is stated he found trade had rather shrunk than grown. That the Mole, though it had cost £400,000, still required large sums to finish it; that the place was generally very insecure. The Report closes with "10 reasons why the place should not be retained," the principal reasons being the large cost required in troops and works to make the place secure, and that it would necessitate the garrisons in Ireland to be denuded of troops where they were much wanted, and the magazines and stores in England to be too heavily drawn upon. See also Tangiers State Papers, No. 40, pp. 325-7.

† The report was signed by forty-four of the principal inhabitants, beginning with Mr. Smith, the Mayor.—Dartmouth MSS.

imprisonment to liberty, and from banishment to our own native country."

Lord Dartmouth made a speech to the officers of the garrison on the 4th of October, in which he said:—"I need not repeat to you the reasons that necessitate his Ma^{tie} to his Resolution of Parting with this Garrison (having before given to the Corporation and inhabitants already) nor need there any excitement to your obedience to his commands, who I am confident are as ready by inclination as duty to obey; but you have a more peculiar happiness than the rest of this Place, that after all the Devilish designs, the implacable malice, and the strange restlessness of the late associations for the assassination of his Ma^{ties} Royal Person, and his Royal Brother, and for the universal destruction of all his faithful subjects, you are remanded from this Place, where you can be no longer capable of doing his Ma^{tie} further service here abroad, and chose as instrumental to the safeguard of himself and his Kingdoms at home. I have only, therefore, to remind every one of you in yo^r proper stations to perform your duty dilligently, and to act vigorously, that this service may be soe well and soe speedily performed that you may return for the safety, and to the favour, protection, and maintenance of the King our Master, whom God preserve, and you to assist him against all the damnable designs of his enemies."

The Officers of Horse wrote to Lord Dartmouth on the 13th, representing that through their horses being killed on service, and dying from diseases of the country, they were some time ago nearly all dismounted, but receiving an order from the Governor to procure horses for themselves from Spain they did so, at great trouble and expense, the prices, including transport, amounting to from £30 to £80 each, and they are now ordered to transport and to sell them in Spain, which they plead will be a great hardship, as for various reasons they will not get any proper price for them, and they beg to be allowed to take their horses to England, which will enable them to be ready mounted for his Majesty's Service at home and so prevent an unsupportable loss to every officer. The next day an address was presented by the late Governor, the Field Officers, Commandants, and the rest of the Officers and Soldiers of the Garrison, in which they express their gratification at the news that the place is to be given up, and their opinion that, without great sums were to be expended in fortifying all the hills which command the town, they must inevitably be, sooner or later, conquered and delivered into the hands of a merciless and barbarous enemy; and their joy that the King had thought fit to recall them to his more immediate service at home, and the necessary defence of his kingdoms, and which they go on to say

“ amidst the present just apprehensions occasioned by the late horrid conspiracy, which still threatens your Royal person and the disturbance of your Government.” They conclude by assuring the King that “ no subjects have deeper impressions, and a truer sense of their duty, than we have, and yet we shall never use unworthily those swords your Majesty has been pleased to put into our hands, but employ them for the preservation and honour of your Majesty’s Sacred Person and your Royal service to the last drop of our blood.” * The Address is signed by P. Kirk, and fifty-nine other officers, including all the principal officers of the Old Regiment; amongst them are found Colonel Trelawny, Lieutenant-Colonel Boynton, Major Sir James Leslie, Captains St. John, Giles, Gay, the leading officers of the Horse, and the principal officers of the Staff.

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 40, pp. 328-9.

CHAPTER XIV.

WITHDRAWAL OF THE INHABITANTS, AND DESTRUCTION
OF THE MOLE.

FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER, 1683.

CONTENTS.—Moorish threats—Women, Children, and Invalids sent home—Solidity of the Mole—Arrangements for return of Troops—Pendennis Castle and Tilbury Fort—Petitions for Arrears of Pay—Amount due to Kirk—Sacrifice in giving up Tangiers—Religious Jealousies—Discussions in Parliament—Tangiers styled a Nursery for Popish Soldiers—Garrison always deficient in strength—Blowing up the Mole—Disreputable condition of the Town—The last days of Occupation—Conduct of Kirk—Embarkation Returns—English Captives—Allowance of Provisions—Departure of last Inhabitants—The English Renegade Lucas—The Water Supply—The Secret Book—The Storms—Scarcity of Provisions—Lord Dartmouth's opinion of the Harbour—Total destruction of the Mole.

LORD DARTMOUTH was not long at Tangiers before he had a taste of Moorish tactics. On the 15th of October a letter arrived from the Alcaide, and on the day following one from the Emperor to the Alcaide; the former complimenting the Governor; the latter, to the Alcaide, complaining of the English ships capturing and sinking Moorish ships, and saying that he has prepared an army of 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and is sending this force, under the command of the Alcaide's brother, to make war against the English. Lord Dartmouth lost no time in replying to the Alcaide that, "as to any threats that look towards Tangier, he cannot understand the reason thereof;" but that, if he think fit to break the peace, he does not apprehend any danger to Tangiers, "though all the force of Barbary came down hither; being as well prepared for war, in the defence of this place, as the King, your master, can be to attack it."

On the 18th, Lord Dartmouth appointed John Eccles, usher and gunner, to go home in charge of the first shipment of persons and

their goods from Tangiers. They were sent by the ship *Unity*, and were as follows :—

| | | | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Infirm soldiers | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 114 |
| Dead | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Males, inhabitants and others | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 34 |
| Female inhabitants, soldiers' wives, children, and others | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 104 |
| Total | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 253 |

In his letter of instructions he gives him a list of the persons, in which he writes :—"The several persons, with their goods, mentioned in the inclosed list, belonging to the Eldest Battalion of Colonel Piercy Kirke's Regiment;" that he is to take all the care he can of the persons on board, both during the voyage and upon their arrival at Pendennis Castle. The several persons mentioned being "all the Officers' wives, the women, children, and their goods." And in a letter next day to Lord Arundel, Commander-in-Chief of Pendennis Castle, he desires that till their husbands or relations come to them they are to be provided with quarters in the Castle, "according to their several qualities;" the soldiers' wives to be credited with an allowance at the rate of threepence per day.*

The preparations for destroying the works of defence of the town, the Forts, and the Mole, seem not to have made the progress Lord Dartmouth expected, and he expressed some little irritation at the delay. Mr. Shere and Pepys agreed that the work would take some months, while Lord Dartmouth and Colonel Kirk declared it should be done in a few weeks; the latter declaring he would do it all in a fortnight or consent to be hanged. The Engineer, who had built a large part of the works now to be destroyed (the Mole being the principal one, and the more difficult to destroy), knew, apparently, what time it would take, and it actually took nearly five months before all the work was done, and the place given up.

Lord Dartmouth, in writing home on the 19th, says with reference to the Mole, that the portion built by Mr. Shere is "as hard as the rocks, and he is now showing his great abilities in the destruction of this his own building." He also gives much credit to Mr. Shere for his assistance in the destruction of the works.†

* Tangiers State Papers, No. 40, p. 331.

† A careful valuation had been made of the "lands, houses, and tennements" of Tangiers by the Committee appointed, consisting of Mr. Pepys, Dr.

In his letter of the 19th of October he submits the proposed distribution of the troops returning home for his Majesty's approval. The first battalion of Colonel Kirk's Regiment to be quartered with himself at Pendennis, and with reference to the numbers he writes, "Though these are called battalions here, the men will not be more than is necessary in one of them for that place, and being of the old regiment they have been used to work and be the fittest men for carrying on the works there." The second battalion (he calls it the youngest) is destined for Tilbury, Sheerness, and Langard Fort; this will, he writes, free his Majesty's Guards that they may "attend on his royal person only." He strongly recommends that Captain Giles may be appointed to Tilbury, in order that his experience may be useful in finishing the fortifications there, and to help in the work. He has shipped off from Tangiers in several ships as much tarras (cement) as will suffice for that undertaking. He strongly recommends the officers of the garrison to the King. He had ordered them to be very careful with the musters of the men, and not being satisfied with the numbers given by the Town Major and overseers (the soldiers being employed on the works) he got the list at last complete to a man from the captains. He hopes his Majesty will be so gracious to the officers as not to let too great severity be used to them, for "better officers cannot be brought to the head of men, most having seen a great deal of service;" for he says, "it is a justice I owe them, considering the worth of the men, the smallness of their pay, the dearness of the place, the great arrears that are due to them." *

The arrival of Lord Dartmouth at Tangiers was especially pleasing to the garrison, as he brought with him pay and Pay-masters.

Trunshall, and Mr. Bacher. They, after due consideration, fixed the following rates :—

| | | | |
|--|---------|---|----|
| Freeholds to be valued at 4 years' purchase. | | | |
| Leaseholds of 10 years and upwards, 3 years' purchase. | | | |
| " | 8 to 10 | " | 2½ |
| " | 6 to 8 | " | 2 |
| " | 4 to 6 | " | 1½ |
| " | 2 to 4 | " | 1 |

* In the Dartmouth MSS. are copies of petitions for pay from officers and from the staff in the months of October and November; so it would appear that the expedition had not brought sufficient to discharge the long arrears. Mr. Hewer offered to advance money to the officers, but the papers do not show if he was allowed to do so. Amongst the petitions is one from John Eccles, gunner, also usher and writing master to the school, "for his money and pay so as to be able to pay his debts." He seems to have sent this in to the Tangiers Com-

In this month there is a calculation of the pay due to Colonel Kirk, which is as follows, and which is important as it gives the dates on which his commands begin :—

| | | | |
|---|--------|----|----|
| 1st.—His Pay as Coll. and Cap ^{tn} for 212 days for this 7 ^{mo} Pay | £ | s. | d. |
| ending 31st March, '82, at 20s per diem... .. | 212 | 0 | 0 |
| 2nd.—His Pay as Coll. and Cap ^{tn} from that time to 30th 9th, being | | | |
| 609 days at 20s per diem | 609 | 0 | 0 |
| 3rd.—His Pay as Comander-in-Cheife from 1st May '81, y ^e time | | | |
| Coll. Sackville departed from Tanger, to y ^e 31st Xber, '81, from | | | |
| wh ^{ch} time he expects to be paid as Governour at £500 p. ann. | | | |
| for 8 months... .. | 333 | 6 | 8 |
| 4th.—His Pay as Governour from the 1st January, 1683, to y ^e 30th | | | |
| November, 1683, being one year and eleven months at £1,500 | | | |
| annum | 2,875 | 0 | 0 |
| | 4,029 | 6 | 8 |
| Deduct for y ^e 3 ^{ds} | 212 | 1 | 1 |
| Rest due to him... .. | £3,817 | 5 | 7 |

The account is signed by William Hewer.*

The rendition of Tangiers was not approved of by all, as is evidenced by a striking letter from Mr. Charles Russel, at Cadiz, to Pepys, in which, after congratulating him on his safe arrival at Tangiers, he writes: "But if you come about what we are here persuaded you do, I had rather you and all that come about the design had tarried at home." He then refers to the prize Tangiers "from old till then" had always been considered; how it helped the Romans in their progress in Barbary, was no less useful to the Moors in their conquest of Spain. The French covet it for trade. The Spaniards and the

missioners on arrival in England in charge of the soldiers' wives and children. Captain St. John asks for pay of rent of quarters hired of him :—

| | | |
|----------------------------------|----------|----|
| | p. of 8. | r. |
| Arrears due on the houses | 1,348 | 4 |
| Do. on another house | 150 | 0 |
| | 1,498 | 4 |

which at 4s. 6d. each piece = £337 3 3

* The Audit Office Declared Accounts (Bundle 161, Roll 438) gives particulars as follows :—"For salary as Governor at £1,500 per annum from 1st Jan., 1681 (the date of his commission), to 1st Oct., 1683 (the time of Lord Dartmouth's entry), and for his (Kirk's) pay as Colonel and Captain at 20s. per diem from 19th April, 1682 (the date of his commission for these commands) to 1st May, 1684 (at which time the Regiment under his command began to be paid by Mr. Fox, then Paymaster of the King's land forces)."

Dutch dread it. How different might have been the present state of that portion of Africa had the place been properly managed and retained up to the present time. But the restored Monarchy, with the religious jealousies, were not to be appeased; the sacrifice of Tangiers is not one of the least of the injuries done to the State and Commonwealth by the surprising unpatriotic religious jealousies of these times. It is almost certain that the King was for some twelve months before inclined to give up the place, having become wearied by the constant complaints that it was only a nursery for Popish soldiers. He was also, no doubt, a little wearied at the constant and increasing expense it was to the Crown. It may be well to say here that there is no doubt of the fact that the several Governors that had been appointed had not sufficiently taken into account the peculiar circumstances of the place, had not studied to make it as it was intended and ought to have been, a free port. And many of them had only looked to present profit and not patriotically to the future welfare of the kingdom of which it was so valuable an outpost. Pepys relates in his diary a conversation he had with Captain Giles, in which he says, "He largely told me the whole unfortunate history of this town from neglect and self-interestedness of the several Governors, showing what this place would, without deceit, have really been by this time for trade if it had not been for taking away its free port by duties set on goods."* There had been many discussions in the House of Commons on the question of Tangiers being a nursery for Popish soldiers.

In November, 1680, after the memorable fights in Tangiers and the consequent necessity—owing to the losses that had taken place and the danger the remnant of the Garrison were in—of immediate relief, Charles, on the 17th, sent to Parliament a message instructing his Commons to send means and forces. Upon the discussion that followed, one member, Sir William Jones, said: "Tangier may be of great importance to trade, but I am afraid hath not been so managed as to be any security to the Protestant religion."† And he referred to the Portuguese Popish Church which was allowed to remain for the convenience of some of their priests and friars and some Portuguese, on condition that when they died out the Church might be demolished or converted to a Protestant one; adding: "It hath been otherwise managed, and that the Papists there are now more than ever." Another member, Mr. Hyde, M.P. for Wootton Bassett,

* Smith's Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Pepys, Vol. I., pp. 374-5.

† Idem, pp. 390-1.

after bearing testimony as to the great advantage of Tangiers to trade "situated to command the greatest thoroughfare of commerce in the world by the advantage of the Mole," does not "believe that it is any nursery for Popish soldiers, . . . for it is well known under what a regulation our soldiers are of taking such oaths and tests as secure them to be Protestants;" he added that "This House must speedily give some assistance for Tangier or it will be lost." Mr. Harbord, M.P. for Thetford, on the contrary, said: "Sir, I am of opinion that Tangiers is a nursery for Popish soldiers;" and further added, "When we are assured we shall have a good Protestant Governor and garrison in Tangier, I shall heartily give my vote for money for it."*

There can be no doubt that Tangiers, from its being so overlooked by the hills surrounding it, was a difficult place to hold unless strong and extensive Forts had been maintained on those hills with sufficient troops and artillery to hold them against all odds. The garrison had never been strong enough to do this in an effective manner. The means at the command of the Governors had never been sufficient even had the estimates been complied with instead of supplies being always long in arrears. Pepys, in his diary, writes: "10th October. To the fields over Fountain Fort: the first time seeing the Moors' sentries, and people rating at the Stockades. The folly of this place, being overlooked everywhere! Seeing the very soldiers going in and out of the castle gate. The strange diligence and patience of the Moors."†

By the 20th of October some progress had been made with the destruction of the Mole, the first mine of Mr. Shere's being blown up on that day. The adjudication of the claims of the Portuguese and the burghers' compensation was made by Pepys.

Colonel Kirk seems, according to the diarist, to have been guilty of many faults, and there can be no doubt that, from want of a firm and strong Government at Tangiers, the place had become disreputable; drunkenness and rioting were common, and not only the soldiers, but the sailors on the King's ships, who were constantly engaged in warfare with the Sallee rovers and the Algerine corsairs, were not altogether a credit to the people who claimed to be one of the leading Christian nations of the world. Something, however, must in justice be allowed in extenuation. They were engaged in constant strife with a barbarous and treacherous foe; they had to undergo privations

* See Appendix G for his Majesty's Message to the Commons relating to Tangiers, and the address of the Commons in reply.

† Smith's Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Pepys, Vol. I., pp. 389-91.

of all kinds. They were subjected—in their poverty from want of money—(all through, the one cry has been arrears of pay) to all kinds of temptations. Dissoluteness was a fashion at the court of their King. They were in a country where all kinds of license were allowed. It is painful to read Pepys' account of the last days of the occupation of Tangiers; and he does not spare Kirk, whom he accuses of all kinds of excesses, and relates that on one occasion, some soldiers having been rioting, Lord Dartmouth spoke very severely to Kirk, telling him he would have a Court-Martial to try both men and officers.

On the 31st of October Pepys, when dining with Lord Dartmouth at the house of Captain St. John, saw from the dining-room windows the blowing up of the great chest on the Mole, which seems to have been very effective. Captain St. John's house was burnt down the next day by accident, and his books and papers, as well as those of Mr. Hewer, who was living with him, were with difficulty saved.

On the 16th of October, the first shipment of the inhabitants was made. The first ship dispatched was the *Unity*, with the infirm soldiers on board. The remainder of the inhabitants were all shipped during the months of October, November, and December, after which the troops were embarked.

| Date. | Ship. | Names of Persons and Quality. | | | | Total Nos. | |
|---------------|------------------|-------------------------------|--|----|-----|------------|------------------------------------|
| Oct. 16, 1683 | <i>Unity</i> | ... | Infirm soldiers, 114, and 1 dead | | | 115 | |
| | | | | | | | Females
Males. and
children. |
| | | | Inhabitants | 34 | 104 | 138 | |
| „ 18, 19 | <i>Swallow</i> | ... | Inhabitants | 27 | 106 | 133 | |
| „ 21 | <i>Centurion</i> | ... | Priests (1 C.) for Spain and
Portugal | 40 | 16 | 56 | |
| „ 23 | <i>Oxford</i> | .. | Officers, wives, children, and
others | — | — | 26 | |
| „ 27 | <i>St. David</i> | ... | The Mayor and his family ...
Recorder „ „
Commissary „ „ | 55 | 62 | 117 | |
| „ 30 | <i>Diamond</i> | ... | Colonel Kirk's wife and family
and others | | | | |
| Nov. 1 | <i>Dartmouth</i> | ... | Officers' widows and officers'
wives, and others | | | | |
| „ 3 | <i>Swan</i> | ... | With Passengers to Marseilles | 28 | 7 | 30 | |
| Jan. 18, 1684 | <i>Mary Rose</i> | ... | Various | 32 | 7 | 30 | |

On the 1st of November Mr. Cuthbert * was sent by Lord Dartmouth to confer with the Alcaide. The Moors had desired through Colonel

* In Smith's Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Pepys, the name is given as Cutberd, Vol. I., p. 441.

Kirk to buy some cloth, and it was thought a good opportunity to endeavour to obtain the release of the English slaves, and especially of Lieutenant Wilson of the old Regiment, taken prisoner at the capture of Henrietta Fort. Mr. Cuthbert was informed by the Moors that they had no power to release Lieutenant Wilson, who was a slave of the Emperor's, though he was the one intended by the latter to be exchanged for his nephew;* but he having obtained his freedom by the King of England's kindness, the Emperor at once found a base excuse for keeping Wilson in his power. The Alcaide promised, on his sacred word, that he would obtain the release of Lieutenant Wilson. The sailors taken at Sallee he owned he had himself an interest in, and would at once send for them. He then told Mr. Cuthbert they saw plainly that they were demolishing the town and works, and therefore no Moor should approach the town or give us the least obstruction.

By the 5th of November all the inhabitants of Tangiers were shipped off—the last of them going in the *Dartmouth* frigate (twenty-eight males and twenty-seven females)—except such as were required to provide necessaries for the soldiers and workmen.†

The Alcaide was for a wonder keeping faith with the promises he made to Lord Dartmouth—through his emissary Mr. Cuthbert—not to molest them, and was sending in supplies of food; fifty head of cattle had been sent in since the 1st of November, and 400 more were promised.‡

* The young relation of the Emperor who escaped to Tangiers. (See pages 196-7.)

† The other ship, the *Swan*, took away to Marseilles twenty-three males and seven females, presumably the French portion of the inhabitants.—*Dartmouth MSS.*

‡ The garrison had evidently been in great want of meat, for in this month is a curious calculation of the cost of feeding the garrison. It is dated 12th November, 1683, and is entitled "allowances for one week's expense to each Soldier in lew of flesh, viz :—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|-----|----|----|
| 5 herrings each ; q ^t 16 barrels at 8 p. c. | 28 | 16 | 0 |
| 1 pound of butter, to each, at 4d. per lb. | 43 | 4 | 0 |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ a pound of cheese, att 4d. per lb. (if no
herrings then $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of butter to each
man, and a pound of cheese) ... | 21 | 12 | 0 |
| | £93 | 12 | 0 |
| | £ | s. | d. |
| 1 pound $\frac{1}{4}$ of butter to each, att 4d. per lb. | 54 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 pound of cheese to each, att 4d. per lb. | 43 | 4 | 0 |
| | £97 | 4 | 0 |

2,592 men for one week at 9d. each is £97 4s."

The Ambassador who went to England was about this time made Alcaide of Sallee, and the other one at Tangiers seems to have been afraid that he would be supplanted in his Master's favour. Lord Dartmouth writes that he believes this to be the reason he was courted so much by him.

On the 10th of November, the *Unity*, Captain Tucker, arrived in the Thames, carrying in addition to the passengers already noted, "200 tons of tarras," for Tilbury Fort. On the 15th, the *St. David*, Captain Rooke, with passengers (the Mayor with his family, &c.), guns and gunners, also arrived.

On the 12th, Sir Leoline Jenkins wrote to Lord Dartmouth, giving an account of the arrival of Dr. Trumball and his presentation to the King. The letters of the Lord-Governor sent by the hospital ship *Unity* were first read to the King, and then the despatch of the 19th, sent by Dr. Trumball. The King took the greatest interest in the reports, and ordered that Dr. Peirce should at once go on to Gravesend, and see to the care of the people on board the *Unity*, and directed that all was to be done that was possible for the comfort, not only for those landed, but for all others on board. The King, the Duke of York being with him, after having heard Lord Dartmouth's report, and Dr. Trumball's explanations, expressed himself as perfectly satisfied that all was being done for the best. The Duke of York wrote to Lord Dartmouth on the same day as the Secretary, informing him that the King was well satisfied, and assured him that he need not fear the malice of his enemies, as it would not be in their power to do anything against him, and if they try he "will stand by him."

On the 16th of November Lord Dartmouth writes to Sir Leoline Jenkins stating that the King (Emperor) had lately arrived at Tangiers, and had written to the Alcaide that he intended to "prosecute the Holy War" (as he called it) "against all Christian garrisons, and particularly to fall upon this place;" but the Alcaide had written to tell him how little advantage a war against the English would be. The Emperor on this advice changed his mind, and did not attempt to harass the garrison. No doubt the wise display of the Troops, by Lord Dartmouth, had some place in the Alcaide's message to the Emperor. Lord Dartmouth remarks, "If the King should think fit to come near the town, I do not doubt but he will pay dear for it."

The English renegade Lucas, who acted as interpreter and adviser to the Moors, Lord Dartmouth seems to have properly despised and mistrusted, and as about this time he came again into the Moors' Camp, the Governor asks the Alcaide to communicate with him

through other channels, and referred to the ill effects that had already happened through Lucas's evil negotiations. In a letter dated 19th of November, to Secretary Jenkins, the Governor remarks on the Mole being such heavy work to destroy—that though he has 2,000 men employed on it from the garrison and fleet, the progress is so slow that he is afraid the King will think the time long; but he protests that he is doing his best, and that when all is finished there will not be two feet of water in the best parts of the harbour.

Amongst the mass of evil reports that had been written about Colonel Kirk, it is only due to him to give the opinion of Dr. Lawrence, the Staff Physician at Tangiers, on his government. He told Pepys, that Lord Teviot did all he could to make Tangiers great, "yet without neglecting himself. The rest have minded nothing but making themselves rich. As to public buildings for the benefit of the place, he says, Kirk hath done more than all of them put together."*

The year 1683 being a very dry one, and the Moors having cut off the water supplies they knew of, it might have fared badly with the garrison, but for the supply of water in Fountain Fort, of which the Moors were ignorant. As an instance of the unfortunate carelessness that had from the first been one of the curses of the place, may be mentioned the following. When Tangiers was given up to the Earl of Peterborough, amongst other things that were always, during the Portuguese occupation, passed from one Governor to another, was a book, kept entirely secret from any eyes but the Governor's, giving an account of all the conduit heads and heads of water-courses in and about the town, of which, Pepys says, "this place was the fullest in the world, every house having a particular well or two, now dry, and lost by losing the knowledge whither to go to the conduit head to remedy it." Lord Peterborough, who received the book from the last Portuguese Governor, took it away with him, and when asked for it, always answered that he had mislaid it and could not find it—strange carelessness of the first English Governor, after the careful preservation of this precious information for so many years by successive Portuguese Governors.†

On the 26th of November the *Diamond*, Captain Jones, arrived in the Downs with passengers, including Mrs. Kirk and her two daughters, and a great number of male and female servants, and the same day the *Dartmouth* arrived with fifty-four passengers, and some marble that had been taken out of the church and other places at Tangiers,

* Smith's Life, Journals and Correspondence of Pepys, Vol. I., p. 444.

† Idem, Vol. I., pp. 444-5.

also the plate and other belongings of the church, which Lord Dartmouth desires may be sent to "Godsherge [?] Chapel, Portsmouth, lately rebuilt by his Majesty." The marble, he thinks, will be enough to pave all the chancel. The weather from the 16th of November seems to have become very bad, with fearful storms of wind and rain; this hindered very much the work of destruction.*

On the 30th of November, Lord Dartmouth writes that since the storms have been so bad there has been no possibility of standing on the Mole or doing any work upon it. The scarcity of provisions, the arduous duty of the soldiers, working on the Mole, and keeping strict guard against the Moors, who now again threatened the Garrison, had so broken down the men that he says, "the hospital fills more and more ashore." Some victuallers had arrived on the 26th, and given the Garrison relief; but to show the straits they were reduced to, Pepys states that "a turkey being sold for six dollars; some soldiers actually mutinying at having pilchards given them for flesh, our men, from the rains, great labour, short provisions, and those not of good kinds, dropping down sick, and the seamen all at short allowance."† Mr. Shere had again made an estimate of the time he considered it would take—judging from the progress already made—to completely destroy the Mole, which he calculated would be not less than three months.‡

An account made up on the 12th of November of the state of the Fleet at Tangiers gives the total number of ships as twenty-eight, and the number of men 3,705.

Lord Dartmouth gives as one of the principal reasons for retiring from Tangiers that he considered the harbour a most unsuitable one for "His Majesty's ships to be ventured in," the roadstead being one of the worst in the world, and "the unsafest in all these parts."

Mr. Pepys, with Mr. Hewer, had been ordered by Lord Dartmouth to Spain. The diarist does not say for what purpose, but it would appear from the tone of his letters while there, that it was as much on account of their health, and to see the country, as for the business of buying stores and victuals for the Fleet and Garrison

* Dartmouth MSS. † Smith's Life, Journals, &c., of Pepys, Vol. I., p. 454.

‡ Captain Wren, in the *Centurion*, after landing the Portuguese at Lisbon, returned to Tangiers, bringing back a note from our Ambassador there, in which he relates how well the Portuguese were treated on the voyage, and he continues that he has informed the ministers that this has been done by the King of England's commands, and he says it is somewhat convenient "to divest them of their ill-humour, for they rail at us horribly for razing ye place."

of Tangiers, and for looking after the refitting of the ships sent there. He with his companion appears to have returned to Tangiers about the end of February. Lord Dartmouth writes to Pepys while in Spain, informing him that the Mole is totally destroyed, and that he hopes he will soon return, as he much wants his advice and assistance in treating with the Alcaide for the release of the slaves, and Mr. Hewer for paying and accounting the money. He sent him also an open order to command any of His Majesty's ships to take him back to Tangiers when he was able to come. Mr. Pepys's last letter to Lord Dartmouth before returning is dated February 13th, from Seville, in which he informs him he is making all haste to return.*

* Smith's Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Pepys, Vol. II., pp. 11-13.

CHAPTER XV.

FINAL RETIREMENT OF THE ENGLISH FROM TANGIERS, AND
ARRIVAL OF THE GARRISON IN ENGLAND.

FROM JANUARY TO APRIL, 1684.

CONTENTS.—Report of Officers—The Mines completed—Blowing up the Outworks—Guns and Horses withdrawn—Instructions for Troops on landing in England—Alcaide agrees to release English Slaves—List of Transports—Number of Troops and Inhabitants embarked—Roll of Kirk's Regiment—Lord Dartmouth's Despatch on arrival—Kirk's Report to Lord Dartmouth and Sir L. Jenkins—Lord Dartmouth's enemies—List of English Slaves redeemed from the Moors—Correspondence between Pepys and Lord Dartmouth—Lord Sunderland's Letter—Quarters of the Tangiers Troops in England—Letter from the Alcaide—Numbers of Tangiers Troops—Reduction of Kirk's Regiment—Their Colours—Badge of the Paschal Lamb—Placed on the Irish Establishment—Past and Present Titles of the Regiment.

On the 20th of January, 1684, the Field Officers of the Tangiers garrison sent in a report on their survey of the mines and other works planned for the destruction of the forts, walls, and other defences. They stated that in their opinion all the mines are "ordered in the most proper manner that may be for the blowing up and demolishing of the said works, both in Town and Castles, &c.," and that they have convinced themselves that when the arrangements that have been made are carried out the Upper Castle would be utterly destroyed, and made quite unfit to be used as a site where platforms and batteries could be erected to annoy shipping in the Straits. They signify to Lord Dartmouth their entire approval of all that had been done to insure the complete destruction of the defences of the place, and acknowledge the assistance that had been given them by Major Beckman, Mr. Phillips, and others. The report is signed by P. Kirk, H. Shere,

Charles Trelawny, M. Boynton, James Leslie, Zachariah Tiffin, George Bowes, R. Douglass, and Andrew Munroe.

The next day the Governor received the reports of the Captains of the Navy on the condition of the Mole and harbour, in which they state that the Mole itself was ruined and destroyed, the harbour filled with stone and rubbish, and made unfit to receive, harbour, or protect from the weather, ships or vessels of any "pirate, robber, or any enemies of the Christian faith, or any other." They also advised him that a hill of sand and another of stones should be levelled, so as to further choke up the bay. After the receipt of these reports, Lord Dartmouth (acting on the advice therein contained, as soon as the weather allowed him, it being, as he says, "the worst season known for many years in these parts") paraded the whole of the garrison outside the town, demolished Pole Fort, fired the remainder of the mines, and quitted the furthest outposts. This was done with leisurely dignity, in full view of the forces of the Alcaide, and, as the Governor quaintly says, "without allowing him any pretence of being sainted for driving the English out of Barbary." The outposts covering Fountain Fort he decided to retain until he had quitted the town, as it was the chief, and indeed only watering-place for the garrison. All the walls of the town were levelled to the ground except some of the foundations of Peterborough Tower. Some fifty or sixty barrels of powder had been placed there, but it failed to explode at the proper time from some cause or another. The Moors were warned that the mines were still there, but they gave no heed to the caution, and one blew up after they had entered the town, and killed eight of them.

Lord Dartmouth's next care was to ship the guns. This was done very gradually, the guns being thinned from the walls by degrees, as was most convenient, "not thinking it reasonable to trust too much at once to the fidelity of these people."

The cavalry was next shipped off, and sent to Cadiz, there to be provisioned for the voyage home. With reference to the arrival of the Tangiers troops in England, Lord Dartmouth writes that in order to avoid any occasion of complaint against the soldiers, who he concludes will soon find out the difference of "coming from martial law to the liberty of a soldier in England," he strictly commands the officers to land, and stay with their men till they know His Majesty's pleasure. Every officer as he went ashore was to be provided with a month's subsistence for the men under his command. The Colonels, as soon as the men and officers were established in their quarters, were to be allowed to look after their own affairs. In case of any

disorder among the troops the officers in command were to be "immediately broke, and it will not be an ill example to do so, let the misfortune light but where it deserves."*

By twelve o'clock (midnight) on the 6th of February most of the garrison were shipped the Infantry being the last to quit their posts.† There was, however, some further delay before he quitted Tangiers Bay, as on the 11th of February he writes to Sir Leoline Jenkins that he has been obliged to send off an overland express with news, but hopes if the wind and the weather in the least favour him to be "as soon, or very near, at his heels." The Moors had not offered the slightest opposition to the embarkation of the troops, munitions, guns, and stores, and the Governor thinks it "not for His Majesty's honour to part without paying what is due to them on the articles, but at the same time to insist upon having our slaves." On the 14th of February he received from the Alcaide the following agreement for the release of the five Englishmen imprisoned at Sallee.

"I, Alcaide Ali Ben Abdala, oblige myself by these presents, that from this day forwards, five Englishmen y^t came out of Tangier with Gifford, and have been hitherto detain'd by my order at Sally, with their ships and goods, are at full liberty (together with their said ships and goods) to depart from thence when and whithersoever they please; and from this day all past differences about the corne prize, wherein Hash Doblou and his companions, were taken are layed aside and forgotten. In witness whereof I have signed and sealed this with my own seale. In the fields of Tangier the 14th February, 1684.

"Signed

ALI BEN ABDALA."

The Alcaide had, on the 11th of February, assured the Governor that part of the English slaves were in the fields before Tangiers, and part at Tetuan, and that they would all be delivered into their hands on the following day, but from the date of the above it would appear that it was two days later before the unhappy Englishmen were all delivered. They were at once shipped on board the *Greyhound*, and, with a Company of Miners, sent off, under charge of Captains Langston and Neville, leaving Tangiers Bay on the 19th of February.

In his letter of the 11th February, Lord Dartmouth begs that orders for the disposal of the troops may await him at Plymouth and Portsmouth. On the 19th, he writes again on board the *Grafton*,

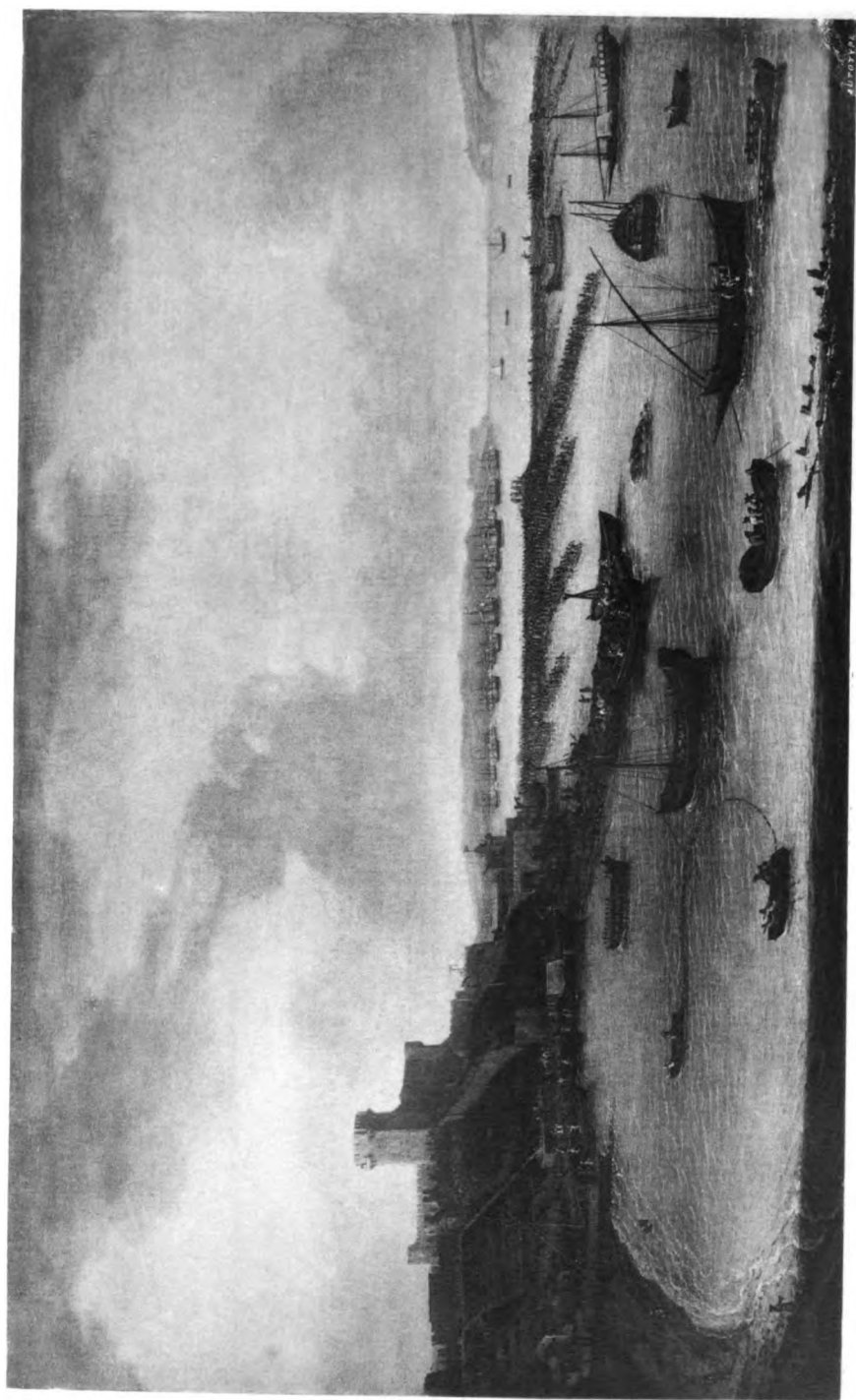
* The *Mary Rose* sailed on the 18th, with thirty-two males and seven females.

† The Governor had decided to start for home, with the ten frigates and the ketch, and to leave Captain Killigrew to come on as soon as possible with the "hired and heavy shipp's."



DESTROYING THE FLEET IN THE BAY.

From the Original Painting by Stoth in the possession of Lord Dartmouth



YORK CASTLE, SHOWING THE TROOPS DESTROYING THE MOLE AND THE FLEET IN THE BAY.

From the Original Painting by Stoth. in the possession of Lord Dartmouth

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Tangiers Road, that since his express sent by Lieutenant Nicholson he has not been able to stir from the place; the wind has been so contrary.* After explaining the arrangements he had made to protect the merchant ships, he goes on to congratulate the King on his having obtained all the English captives. While writing this letter, he says that the Levant wind has sprung up, so that he expects most of the ships will be there by night, as they would be able to start at once. The fleet appears to have sailed about the 20th or 21st, though there is considerable doubt whether they got well away from the coast of Portugal until the end of the month. Mr. De Paz, Lord Dartmouth's secretary, writing to a friend on the 25th, says:—"We have been this three days in this Bay of Bulls, where we still ride, waiting for y^e first good wind to set saile forward; my Lord would not go in further with the ships under his command, but I was ashore two days to see Cadiz."†

In the list of ships conveying the troops, the dates given for the ships' musters are from the 1st of February (when the *Charles* sailed, which carried the Horse troops) to the 7th of March (when the *Grafton*, with Lord Dartmouth and the Grenadier Companies left).

It will be well here to give the entire list of the shipment of the troops and the remainder of the inhabitants, which was completed during this month, with the exception of the Governor's ship, the *Grafton*, with the grenadier companies of the three Regiments on board, which did not sail until the 7th of March:—

| Date. | Name of Ship. | Troops (including officers.) | Inhabitants. | | Total. | |
|---------|--|--|--------------|---------|--------|-----|
| | | | Male. | Female. | | |
| 1 Feb. | <i>Charles</i> , Merchantmen.. | 4 Troops Horse... .. | 183 | 17 | 21 | 221 |
| | (Troops commanded by Captain Hodge). | | | | | |
| 8 Feb. | <i>Henrietta</i> | 5 companies of First Battalion Lord Dumbarton's Regiment ... | 207 | 3 | 18 | 228 |
| | (Troops commanded by Captain Douglas.) | | | | | |
| 8 Feb. | <i>Montague</i> | 7 companies of the eldest battalion of Colonel Kirk's Regiment... .. | 342 | 3 | 4 | 349 |
| | (Troops commanded by Colonel Kirk.) | | | | | |
| 10 Feb. | <i>Ann</i> , Yacht | 1 company of Colonel Kirk's Regiment (Captain Giles) | 49 | — | — | 49 |
| | (Troops commanded by Captain Giles.) | | | | | |

* Dartmouth MSS., October-December, 1683 (should be 1684). See Tangiers State Papers of same date.

† Tangiers State Papers (Miscellaneous), No. 48, 1684.

| Date. | Name of Ship. | Troops (including officers.) | Inhabitants. | | Total. | |
|---------|--|--|--------------|---------|--------|-----|
| | | | Male. | Female. | | |
| 12 Feb. | <i>Deptford</i> , Ketch ...
(Troops commanded by
Captain Chantrell
and Mr. Phillips.) | 1 company of Colonel
Kirk's Regiment (Cap-
tain Chantrell's) ... | 44 | — | 44 | |
| 13 Feb. | <i>Woolwich</i> ...
(Troops commanded by
Colonel Trelawny.) | 8 companies of the
eldest battalion of
Colonel Trelawny's
Regiment ... | 307 | 7 | 16 | 330 |
| 14 Feb. | <i>Schiedam</i> , Prize ...
(Mr. Shere in charge
of Molemen, &c.) | Molemen, with their
women and children | — | 53 | 37 | 90 |
| 14 Feb. | <i>Happy Return</i> ...
(Troops commanded by
Zach. Tiffin.) | 7 companies of the
youngest battalion of
Colonel Trelawny's
Regiment ... | 269 | 1 | 6 | 276 |
| 15 Feb. | <i>Dover</i> ...
(Troops commanded by
Captain Colgrave.) | The four independent
companies ... | 150 | 14 | 21 | 185 |
| 15 Feb. | <i>Centurion</i> ...
(Troops commanded by
Lt.-Col. Boynton). | 6 companies of the
youngest battalion of
Colonel Kirk's Regi-
ment... .. | 253 | 4 | 10 | 267 |
| 15 Feb. | <i>Tiger</i> ...
(Troops commanded by
Captain Bowes.) | 5 companies of the
King's Battalion of
Foot Guards ... | 274 | 2 | 16 | 292 |
| 24 Feb. | <i>Oxford</i> ...
(Troops commanded by
Captain Munroe.) | 5 companies of the
youngest battalion of
Lord Dumbarton's
Regiment ... | 205 | 11 | 17 | 233 |
| 24 Feb. | <i>Foresight</i> ...
(Troops commanded by
Capt. R. Lowther.) | 3 companies of the
youngest battalion of
Lord Dumbarton's
Regiment ... | 131 | 9 | 12 | 152 |
| 25 Feb. | <i>Mermaid</i> ...
(Mr. Povey in charge.) | Gunners (14) and the
company of miners... | 48 | 34 | 5 | 87 |
| 25 Feb. | <i>Swan</i> , Prize ...
(Mr. Phillips in charge.) | Stores, and part of the
troopers ... | 50 | — | — | 50 |
| 25 Feb. | <i>Dragon</i> ...
(Not stated who in charge.) | 2 companies of the
eldest battalion of
Lord Dumbarton's
Regiment (Captain
Gay's Company of
Colonel Kirk's Batta-
lion was transhipped
on the <i>Dragon</i> from
<i>Centurion</i> , numbers
no put in this muster) | 85 | 1 | 6 | 92 |

| Date. | Name of Ship. | Troops (including officers). | Inhabitants. | | Total. |
|---------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|---------|--------|
| | | | Male. | Female. | |
| 26 Feb. | <i>Welcome</i> (Hospital Ship) | Sick soldiers (40) and | | | |
| | (Dr. Lawrence in charge.) | Seamen | 40 | — | 40 |
| | | Women for nurses ... | — | 2 | 2 |
| 7 Mar. | <i>Grafton</i> | 3 Grenadier Companies | | | |
| | (Troops commanded by | of Lord Dumbarton's, | | | |
| | Captain Hodge of | Colonel Kirk's, and | | | |
| | Lord Dumbarton's | Colonel Trelawny's, | | | |
| | Regiment.) | Regiments | 193 | 11 | 204 |
| | | | 2,830 | 170 | 3,191 |

The *Oxford* and *Welcome* ships were mustered in the Bay of Bulls, off Cadiz; the *Foresight*, *Mermaid* and *Dragon*, "on board at Cadiz." The other ships were no doubt all mustered at Tangiers. The last ship to leave, the *Grafton*, with Lord Dartmouth on board, being reported as having "mustered on board in Tanger Road."

The following is the detail of the shipment of Colonel Kirk's Regiment, with the names of the officers:—

In ship *Montague*, seven companies of the Eldest Battalion as follows:—

| | |
|--|-----|
| 1. <i>Piercy Kirk's Company</i> : Piercy Kirk, Colonel and Captain; William Berry, Captain-Lieutenant; James Wryley (or Wyley), Chirurgion; William Pountney, and soldiers, 62. Total | 66 |
| 2. <i>Captain Thomas St. John's Company</i> : Thomas St. John, Captain; Jenkin Thomas, Lieutenant; Fairborne, Ensign; and soldiers, 53. Total | 56 |
| 3. <i>Sir James Lasley's</i> [Leslie's] <i>Company</i> : Sir James Lasley, Major and Commander; Henry Withus, Lieutenant; Roger Elliott, Ensign; and soldiers, 43. Total | 46 |
| 4. <i>Captain Barbour's Company</i> : Thomas Barbour, Captain; Richard Lawes, Lieutenant; Sym ^d Duff, Ensign; and soldiers, 45. Total | 48 |
| 5. <i>Captain George Wingfield's Company</i> : George Wingfield, Captain; James Adams, Lieutenant; Gar ^t Fitzgerald, Ensign; and soldiers, 35. Total | 38 |
| 6. <i>Captain John Burgess' Company</i> : John Burgess, Captain; Philip Maher, Lieutenant; Martin Tester, Ensign; and soldiers, 47. Total | 50 |
| 7. <i>Captain Charles Wingfield's Company</i> : Charles Wingfield, Captain; William Houghton, Lieutenant; Nathaniel Barker, Ensign; and soldiers, 35. Total | 38 |
| Total in <i>Montague</i> | 342 |

In ship *Ann*, Yacht:—

| | |
|--|----|
| 8. <i>Captain Giles's Company</i> : John Giles, Captain; Andrew Mortimer, Ensign; and soldiers, 47. Total | 49 |
|--|----|

In ship *Deptford*, Ketch:—

| | |
|---|----|
| 9. <i>Captain Chantrell's Company</i> (himself absent): William Norwood, Lieutenant; Bernard Tessin, Ensign; and soldiers, 42. Total | 44 |
|---|----|

In ship *Centurion* :—

| | |
|---|------------|
| 10. <i>Lieutenant-Colonel Marmaduke Boynton's Company</i> : Marmaduke Boynton, Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain; George Westcombe, Lieutenant, and soldiers, 43. Total | 45 |
| 11. <i>Captain Brent Eily's Company</i> : Brent Eily, Captain; John Winfield, Lieutenant; David Rock, Ensign; and soldiers, 42. Total .. | 45 |
| 12. <i>Captain Henry Row's Company</i> : Henry Row, Captain; Charles Gerrard, Lieutenant; Antho. La Pewteer, Ensign; and soldiers, 41. Total | 44 |
| 13. <i>Captain George Talbott's Company</i> : George Talbott, Captain; Theobald Burke, Lieutenant; John Senhouse, Ensign; and soldiers, 37. Total | 40 |
| 14. <i>Captain Zouch Tate's Company</i> : Zouch Tate, Captain; Patrick Farrell, Ensign; and soldiers, 38. Total... .. | 40 |
| Total in ship <i>Centurion</i> ... | <u>214</u> |

In ship *Dragon* :—

| | |
|---|----|
| 15. <i>Captain James Gay's Company</i> (brought from <i>Centurion</i>): James Gay, Captain (absent); John Pinkney, Lieutenant; Vernon Parker, Ensign; and soldiers, 35. Total | 37 |
|---|----|

In ship *Grafton* :—

| | |
|---|----|
| 16. <i>Captain William Mathews' Company</i> : William Mathews, Captain, Andrew Billing and George Kirk, Lieutenants; and soldiers, 62. Total | 65 |
|---|----|

SUMMARY.

| | |
|---|------------|
| In <i>Montague</i> : Total of Officers and Men... | 342 |
| „ <i>Ann</i> , Yacht „ „ | 49 |
| „ <i>Deptford</i> , Ketch, „ „ | 44 |
| „ <i>Centurion</i> „ „ | 214 |
| „ <i>Dragon</i> „ „ | 37 |
| „ <i>Grafton</i> „ „ | 65 |
| Total of Officers and Men ... | <u>751</u> |

It would appear therefore, as the muster of the *Grafton* was taken in Tangier Road, “that Lord Dartmouth did not really leave Tangiers till that date; and this is corroborated by Pepys in the “Journal of his Voyage from Tangier to England,”* which begins “March 5-15, 1683-4, Sailing out of Tangier Bay;” and he then proceeds to notice some remarks Lord Dartmouth made to him on the discipline of the fleet, but being then only a passenger, he thought it of no use to trouble the commanders on the subject. “Therefore when he came home he would content himself with his own office (of Ord-

* Smith's Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Pepys, Vol. II., p. 33.

nance), in which there were not many to vie with, or envy him ; and never more trouble himself with the sea, till a time came when he might be useful and able considerably to serve the King.* There can be little doubt that Lord Dartmouth did not finally leave Tangiers in the *Grafton* till the beginning of March, and probably did not leave the Bay of Bulls (where there seems to have been some reshippments) till about the 10th of that month.

On Saturday, the 29th of March, Pepys writes :—"In so fair weather, with so fair a wind, immediately on a fair observation and clear sounding at sixty-five fathoms, 49 degrees, 34 minutes latitude, strange the disagreements among our navigators about the entrance into our Channel ! My lord and Mr. Phillips were very positive that she were shot to the eastward of Scilly, while Sir W. Booth, with the master and mates, were of opinion we were yet to the westward ; one part apprehensive of our running on the French coast, and the other on the English ; some for laying by all night, and others for sailing forwards, as we did, due east.†

Lord Dartmouth arrived at Plymouth the next day, the 30th, on board the *Grafton*, with some of the frigates, and immediately on his arrival he sent off the following note to Secretary Jenkins by his Secretary De Paz.‡

"Sr,

"My passage home has been very tedious and stormy, as y^e bearer will informe you, but y^t I might make all y^e haste that lay in my power I left Captⁿ Killegrew wth y^e hired and heavy Shippes, and came my self wth Ten frigatts, and y^e ketch wth the Chief of y^e forces, y^t I might have no clog to hinder my dispatch (fearing his Maj^{ty} might think y^e forces long acoming) ; but notwithstanding my endeavours we met wth so great a storme off y^e South Cape, y^t three of y^e frigatts lost my company, though in good condition, and I hope may be arrived, or will arrive very suddenly ; the *Centurion* came wth me well into y^e Chops of y^e Channell, but in another violent storme the night before last night she likewise was missing, though I am confident she is safe, and you may hear of her before me, but y^e absence of this last hinders my followg y^e orders I rec^d here just now (from y^e hands of Mr. Blathwayte) to bring some forces fro this place to y^e River and leave one of Coll^o Kirk's Battalions here ; but it so falls out y^t one part of his Regim^t being with himsele in the *Mountague* (w^{ch} will be rightly disposed of) the other part is in y^e *Centurion*, so y^t I cannot obey leaving any of y^t Regim^t here as yet only the comp^a of Granadeers w^{ch} are wth me, shall be disposed as dirrected, and I will bring away one of y^e Duke's Companies,

* Smith's Life, Journals, &c., of Pepys, Vol. II., p. 38. † Idem, pp. 39-40.

‡ Dartmouth MSS.

and rectifie y^e rest as soone as y^e *Centurion* comes into my company. S^r I will not trouble you wth a long narrative of y^e sevr^l passages of y^e voyage, havg done it at large to y^e L^{ds} of y^e Admiralty wch is inclosed to you as formerly, and I desire what comands are thought fitt for me may be sent to Portsmouth,—whither I must haste all I can, for I dare not trust y^e shippes to ride in y^e Downes, wth these Cables, wch you will easily imagine are sufficiently worne wth the hard winter in Tanger Bay; besides we are quite bear of all manner of stores, for w^t was reasonable to be taken fro them I stript y^m off to leave with those shippes were to continue abroad, otherwise I must have left y^m very unserviceable and to little purpose. Such orders as I have recd here and all others y^t come to my hand I will prosecute y^e best I am able for his Maties service, but I am mightily surprized to find none here for me, but of very old dates, and what starts me more is to have no sylable fro you, to whom I have never fayled giving just and frequent Acc^t both by Sea, by Expresse and otherwise, on all opportunitys, but I hope to receive y^m at Portsmouth, and y^t this bearer will speedily be wth you, y^t I may be a litle enlightned how to serve His Majty to y^e best advantage, as becomes, D^r S^r

“Yo^r most obliged and

“obedient faithfull,

“humble servant,

“*Plim^o March 30th, 1684.*”

“DARTMOUTH.”

Endorsed—“*To Mr. Secretary Jenkins, 30th Mar., 1684.*”

They had had a rough and stormy passage, and had parted company with three of the frigates in a great storm off the South Cape, and with the *Centurion* in a violent storm in the chops of the Channel on the 29th. The instructions Lord Dartmouth found waiting for him as to the disposition of the troops he was unable to carry out in consequence of the delay in arrival of the other ships; but he writes that he believes the grenadier company of Kirk's and the other regiments on arrival will be rightly disposed of.

On the 3rd of April Lord Dartmouth arrived at Spithead,* and he at once sent a despatch by Pepys with news that he had met with the *Centurion* and had sent her on to Plymouth “to land y^e second battalion of Colonel Kirk's regiment, as I was directed. The *Montague* will put in at Falmouth with the Colonel, so that upon his arrival that regiment will be rightly disposed of.”

On the 2nd of April the *Montague* with Colonel Kirk and eight companies of his regiment arrived at Falmouth. The next day he sent the following note to Lord Dartmouth:—†

“My Lord,

“I had the honour to receive a letter from yo^r L^dsp at my arrival heare,‡ that gives me all the satisfaction in the world since I have soe good a

* Tangiers State Papers, Vol. 48, pp. 353-4.

† Dartmouth MSS.

‡ He left Plymouth on the 31st March.

friend with His Mat^e and doe not att all question but to have my Bissiness soun^e finished now you are arrived.

"What has been the obstekell all this time I know not, but I find noe orders heare for anything but quartering my Regiment at Pendennis and Plymouth.

"I hope yo^r L^dsp beleives I am sensible of the honours and faivours I have received from you, that whilst I have life I shall ever acknowledge. I beg you to believe me faithfully yours, and that I depend only upon your friendship and kindness in the making my fortune, and whensoever I am capable of paying my gratitude believe I have a life at your sarvice.

"We parted from Malaga, the 22nd March, and arrived heare the 2nd April, the passage is soe good that I feare the horse-ship *Sprdg* [? *Speedy*], *Fissh* [? *Fish* * (Captain's name)], &c., will hardly be heare soe soun^e.

"I find this Castile as much out of repara as yo^r L^dsp expected itt, and the house soe very much as I am forst to bring my wife to London. Captain Killigrew I will beg that favour of soe soun^e as I have landed my Battalion, I intend to kiss yo^r L^dsp's hands att London."

On the same day he wrote also to Sir Leoline Jenkins, informing him of his arrival, and that he had found his Majesty's orders to quarter his regiment at Pendennis and Plymouth, and in obedience to that order he intends to land. The eight companies † would be sent on shore that day, and an order would be dispatched to his Lieutenant-Colonel at Plymouth to land the companies of the other battalion. Lord Dartmouth was much distressed on his arrival to hear that neither Captains Neville or Lampton, nor Lieutenant Nicholson, with despatches, had arrived, and was also mortified to find that in consequence of this, and the extra time it had taken to perform the work at Tangiers, his euemies had taken the opportunity to find fault with him, and to suggest to the King that he had not performed his duty well. In his note of the 3rd to Sir Leoline Jenkins, he complains bitterly of this conduct, and refers to Pepys, who he writes is "an able and understanding witness of all his actions." Lord Dartmouth seems to have been promptly reassured by Sir Leoline Jenkins that his enemies had not been able to do him any injury, for in the Tangiers Papers is a letter from him in reply, in which he warmly thanks Sir Leoline for his kind letter sent by express.

On the 8th the *Greyhound* arrived with the slaves, who were at once sent up to Whitehall to present themselves to the King. The following is a list of them:—

* In a letter of Kirk's, dated 8th April, to Lord Dartmouth he informs him that Mr. Fissh with his "Fly Boate" had run on shore at Mount's Bay, about six miles from Pendennis, and a quantity of arms carried on board were lost.—Dartmouth MSS.

† It would appear that one of the Companies that had been sent in the *Ann*, Yacht, had been reshipped on the *Montague*, as the latter ship only started from Tangiers with seven Companies.

AN ACCOMPT OF THE RESPECTIVE SLAVES REDEEMED OUT OF THE HANDS OF
THE ALCAYDE.*

| Names. | Quality. | How long in captivity. | | The Names of Ships, or how taken. |
|----------------------------------|---|------------------------|------|---|
| | | Years. | Mos. | |
| Lt. Wilson ... | Lt. in ye Old Regiment in Tanger
Captain McDonnell's brother | 3 | 10 | { At ye taking Henrietta Fort. |
| Mr. Aneas McDonnell | | | | |
| Mr. Mich ^l Chevers... | Volluntier | — | 4 | { Lost off of Salley, at ye burning of a Salle Man of Warr ye Greyhound had put ashore. |
| James Crofts ... | Coxwaine | | | |
| Mr. Fergeson ... | Boatswain's mate | | | |
| Achebald Montgomery | Seaman | | | |
| Michaell Holdgate ... | Do. | | | |
| Stephen Penn ... | Do. | — | 1½ | { Belonging to ye Drake, cast ashore in the Bay by bad weather, coming ashore in ye boat. |
| James Pett ... | Coxwaine | | | |
| Robert Tirrell ... | Seaman | | | |
| Richard Penman ... | Do. | 10 | — | { Good Hope, a small ship of London. |
| John Clover... | Do. | | | |
| George Hasbrough ... | Do. | 3 | 8 | { John and Thomas, ketch, of London. |
| James Gillerd ... | Do. | 1 | 6 | { Rose, a small shipp of Dartmouth. |
| Francis Migillet | Soldier | 2 | 6 | { In Tanger Fields. |
| Hugh Conneal ... | Do. Old Regt. | | | |
| James Robb ... | Seaman | — | 5½ | { Hester, a small ship of Belfast, in Ireland. |
| Robert Gittas ... | Boy of the ketch | — | 9 | { Thomas, ketch of London. |
| John Palmer ... | Soldier | 4 | 10 | { In a boat in Tanger Bay. |
| Alexander Watson ... | Seaman | — | 5 | { Dover, ketch, of Dover. |
| Luke Salter ... | Boy in the ketch | — | 9 | { Thomas, ketch, of London. |
| Michael Richardson... | Seaman | — | 9 | { Desire, pink, of Poole. |
| David Berry... | Do. | 8 | 8 | { Alsopp, pink, of Tanger. |
| Rob ^t Clerke ... | Do. | 1 | 6 | { William. ketch, of Yarmouth. |
| Thomas Nicholls ... | Soldier | 12 | 7 | { In a Tang ^r boat. |
| Mathew Baster ... | Seaman | — | 4½ | { Mary and Eliza pink, of London. |
| David Williams ... | Soldier | 5 | 6 | { In a boat in Tanger Road. |
| George Jones ... | Do. | 5 | 6 | { In a boat in Tanger Bay. |
| James Lock ... | Do. | 1 | 6 | { Ditto. |
| Abell Maine... | Seaman | — | 4½ | { Mary and Eli ^a pink, of London. |
| George Procter ... | Mate of the ketch | 5 | 3 | { Fortune, ketch, of London. |

* Tangiers State Papers, 1688-1735, No. 48.

AN ACCOMPT OF THE RESPECTIVE SLAVES REDEEMED OUT OF THE HANDS OF
THE ALCAYDE—*Continued.*

| Names. | Quality. | How long in captivity. | | The Names of Ships, or how taken. |
|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-----|--|
| | | Years | Mos | |
| Thomas Cooper ... | Seaman ... | — | 4½ | { <i>Mary and Eliza</i> , pink, of London. |
| Michaell Lovell ... | Mate of the shipp | — | 4 | { <i>Eagle</i> , a small ship of Dartmouth. |
| Thomas Hatch ... | Seaman ... | 1 | 6 | { <i>Rose</i> , a small ship of Dartmouth. |
| Robert Hill ... | Do. ... | 4 | — | { <i>Nonsuch</i> , a small ship of Weymouth. |
| Charles Carter ... | Boy of the ketch | — | 9 | { <i>Adventure</i> , ketch, of London. |
| George Teger ... | Seaman ... | 18 | — | { In a pink. |
| John Whiteroe ... | Do. ... | 3 | 5 | { <i>Port Merchant</i> , a small shipp. |

Five more at Salley, declared free by ye Alcayd's obligation.

Eleven others sent for to Tetuan.

Besides a greater number promised by ye Alcayde."

Endorsed—

"An acc^t of Slaves redeem'd 1684. Received y^e 8th day of Aprill, by
Cap^t Langston sent expresse from my L^d Dartmouth."

The following letters were addressed by the Alcaide to Lord Dartmouth; the first in reply to a letter dated the 3rd of August, and the latter after the English had quitted Tangiers; wherein he shows a great desire for a peace or treaty. Some curious offers are contained in the letter of the 28th of November; amongst other things he suggests that, in redeeming slaves, two Moors should be given for every Christian.

"My Lord,—

"I received your Lopp^s Letter of y^e 3rd August by y^e hands of Captaine Henry Priestman w^{ch} brought me y^e good news of yor Lopp^s good health, that w^{ch} I have is ready to be employed in yor Lopp^s Service.

"I had y^e honour of receiving a Letter from his Mat^{ie} of Great Brittain to y^e King my Master and another to my selfe, w^h was a favour suitable to his greatnesse; I did endeavour to wayte uppon y^e King my Mast^r with y^e said Letter but it was not possible, and sent it by my brother Alcayde Hamet and Lieut. Nicolson. His Mat^{ie} received it wth all y^e markes of esteem possible, sending me full power to adjust y^e peace, and giving advice thereof to His Mat^{ie} of Great Brittain, in pursuance whereof I begun to Treat ab^t it wth Captaine Priestman, who shew'd me 19 Articles, 17 whereof I approved, but there is a point in each of y^e other two (vizt ab^t redemption of Captives and Salutes) w^{ch} I desired

Captⁿ Priestman might be layed aside till I writ ab^t y^m to, and had an answer from His Mat^{ie} and your Lop^p in order to y^e adjusting y^m finally agreeing uppon and signing y^e 17 articles; Since I had not at y^t time givin y^e King my Mast^r any other acc^t than that I looked uppon y^e peace as adjusted without mentioning particulars, and it is certaine y^t if we signed y^e 17 articles, and even y^e other 2 leav^s out y^e 2 points mentioned, in a little time and wth your Exc^{ies} answer, I should be able to dispose my Master to agree to all. But Captⁿ Priestman declared he had no power to add or diminish anything from y^e said articles ab^t *Slaves or Salutes*; and believing that Captⁿ Priestman had a desire to redeeme Captives I offered to Treat wth him for 30 I had in my disposall, but I found him very coole in it. So y^t I perceived he was fully enough empowered; and we parted without concluding anything. I could have wished that y^e person sent hither had been soe fully empowered and instructed as to agree uppon what should be found convenient for both parties finally concluding and signing it, leaving anything else y^t should be unadjusted ag^t another occasion, w^{ch} w^d not be wanting, if a good peace was established.

"The said Captⁿ Priestman delivered me y^e Powder and Muskett Barrells, and pursuant to yo^r Lop^{ps} and Mr. Roth's dirrections I delivered the obligations up to him taking his receipt. I never demanded y^e s^d powder, &c., neither w^d I have done it tho' a much longer time had been elapsed in regard to y^e great vallue I put uppon your Lop^{ps} word.

"I cannot but tell yo^r Lop^p that tho' I did not propose to add any article to y^e project shew'd me by y^e Captain, yet I think it reasonable to desire that there may be inserted therein that we may have the liberty of buying all sorts of Contraband goods in England, as powder, musketts, &c., and y^t y^e English Shipp^s be permitted to bring y^e same to this kingdome, where we furnish y^m wth y^e provisions they have occasion for; We doe further desire that the English Shipp^s may not go to Sancta Cruz nor Trade that way.

These 2 articles I pray yo^r Lop^p may be added to y^e project since Capⁿ Priestman can not make any addition to it, and if yo^r Lop^p (in whose hands we put ourselves) can obtaine our demands from his Mat^{ie} we will wth yo^r advice signe all and it will be a very lasting peace; and I will use my utmost endeavours to obtaine y^e article relating to y^e Captives as you shall desire, whereon I engage my word to yo^r Lop^p, and as to y^e Moores y^e King my Master's Subjects taken this year by his Mat^{ies} Shipp^s if His Mat^{ie} pleases to give us two Moores for every Christian, we are ready to agree to it, and for Benasha we are willing to give such a one as shall be desired of us y^t is either in y^e King's or any private man's possession.

"I give His Mat^{ie} an account of all y^t has happened, and yo^r Lop^p as my friend and protector I hope will use yo^r utmost endeavours in order to a good peace. I shall therefore wayte for yo^r answer, not doubting but y^t through our meanes both Crownes will attaine y^e satisfaction of a peace as you will see by y^e King my M^{rs} Letter to His Mat^{ie} wherein he expresses his great desire to it.

"Some dayes agoe came to our port of Tetuan two English Shipp^s wth let^{tres} and tooke a fishing boate wth 5 men, w^{ch} we thought unreasonable and gave an account of it to yo^r Lop^p but received no answer as yet.

"I see y^t Capⁿ Priestman hath bro^t y^e things I desired yo^r Lop^p to send me, and having desired him to deliver y^m to me paying y^e cost, or what he

should desire, I could not prevaile wth him, I thought fitt to acquaint yo^r Lopp wth it, being,

“My Lord,

“Yo^r Lopp's friend and Serv^t,

“ALI BENABDALA.

Endorsed—“*Tang. 28 9^{ber} 1684. From y^e Alcayde Ali Benabdala. R^d y^e 15th Dec.*”

“My Lord,—

“Your Lordps Letter of y^e 2/12 June brought me the welcome news of your safe arrivall at London, and owning my selfe so great a sharer in yo^r Lo^{ps} prosperity I hope you will vouchsafe me y^e favour of honouring me from time to time wth yo^r good news, w^{ch} shall allwayes be entertained by me wth all the respect imaginable, and yo^r Lo^p may be assured y^t in such our intercourse I shall allwayes have a particular regard to yo^r Interest, putting a very great vallue uppon yo^r Lo^{ps} noble friendship, w^{ch} I pray God may long continue.

“The kindnesse w^{ch} yo^r Lo^p tells me our Letters were entertained wth by his Matie is no more than we expected from his greatnesse, especially going under yo^r Lo^{ps} protection, w^{ch} makes us hope for good successe in Our Interests, for as to Our part yo^r Lo^p has already had experience of our way of dealing, and y^e exactnesse of our words. I returne your Lo^p my most humble thanks for y^e good office you have passed in Our behalf for y^t obtaining of a peace by Sea wherein we expect his Maties commands together wth yo^r Excies dirrections.

“I am further to thank yo^r Excie for your care abt y^e contents of my Mem^{ts} w^{ch} I am perswaded hath bene exactly complied wth, and as to y^e powder and musketts y^t are owing, since it goes through yo^r hands a little delay shall break no Squares.

“Two English Shippes came lately to an anchor in Our port of Tetuan putting out flaggs of Truce, w^{ch} we, looking upp^o as a sufficient security for our small boates, took no care to secure y^m otherwise, but a fisher boat wth five men in it being mett by those of y^e Shippes was made a prize by y^m. I doe attribute this acc^{on} to want of knowledge in y^e Captaine, and these same shippes y^t brought yo^r Lopp's l^r tooke likewise another small vessell laden with corne, after they had anchored and put out a flag of Truce and deliv^d yo^r Lo^{ps} l^r I thought fitt to give you this acc^t y^t you may know how we have been used by this Captaine. I pray yo^r Lo^p to honour me wth y^r comands, being

“Yo^r most affectionate fr^d and Servant,

“ALI BENABDALA.

“*Tangr Fields y^e 20th of Ramadan, 1095.*”

“P.S.—When these Shippes brot yo^r Lo^{ps} L^r to Tetuan I happened not to be upp^o the place, but upp^o notice of thr arrival writ a l^r to y^e Cap^t desiring y^m to stay for my answer, and some refreshm^{ts}, but they tooke our vessell and went away without giving us any notice, and I judge y^e same Cap^t took y^e fisher boate wth 5 Moores.”

Endorsed—“*Tang. Fields, 1684. Fro Alcayde Ali Ben Abdala to y^e Lord Dartmouth. R^d y^e 14th Nov.*”

Pepys seems to have been energetic in defence of his friend and patron Lord Dartmouth, as he writes to him again on the 5th of April a long account of his interview with Mr. Leoline Jenkins, and with the King and Duke of York, upon the subject of the misrepresentations which were said to have been made to the King respecting the conduct of the expedition by Lord Dartmouth. The King is reported to have said that, "however some persons might be impertinent enough to use a greater liberty of tattle elsewhere, none to this houre had ever taken upon them to say one word to yo^r prejudice to him; adding that hee would never desire on any occasion to have his services better performed than he had ever had it by y^e Lord Dartmouth." Similar expressions of confidence and esteem were given by the Duke of York and the King's Ministers. On the 6th of April * Pepys wrote that he had had a "particular and ample discourse" with Lord Sunderland on Tangiers affairs, and found him most ready to give all and full praise to Lord Dartmouth, not only for the counsel he had given regarding Tangiers, but also for his conduct in carrying out his instructions. Pepys also visited the Exchange, in order to discover how the expedition was talked about there, and he informs his friend and patron that he does not see the "least reason for you or your friends bestowing one thought more upon what the malicious folly of two or three idle fellows have thus unsuccessfully laboured to lessen your great merits." † Lord Dartmouth sent a grateful reply to Pepys, and, writing to him again on the 8th of April, he asks him to see that his affairs are not neglected at the Admiralty, as he says they "have already been playing off tricks with me, endeavouring to lessen my command." He also wishes employment there for Mr. Shere. Lord Dartmouth received the following satisfactory letter from Lord Sunderland:—

"Winsor, Aprill the 8, 1684.

"My Lord,

"This morning I read to the King your Lor^{ps} Letter to Mr. Secretary of Aprill the 6th, and vpon it his Majesty commanded me to let you know that he is very well satisfied with the care you have taken in obeying his orders, and perticularly that he is very well pleased with the directions you have given at Plymouth, Falmouth, Portsmouth, &c., and that when you come into the Downes and have given such further orders as you shall find to be necessary his Majesty would have you make what hast you can to receave his approbation of your services from himselfe. What you write in relation to the Troopes he likes very well, and had already resolved most of it. This is what the King commanded me to write to your Lor^{ps}, but I cannot conclude without assuring

* Smith's Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Pepys, Vol. II., p. 43. † Idem.

you that I am extremely glad of the good successes of your voyage, and that you will find in this place no man more ready to serve you nor more intirely than I am,

"My Lord,

"Your most humble

"Servant,

"Ld Dartmouth."

"SUNDERLAND.

Endorsed—"My Lord Sunderland's Letter,

"Apr 8th, 1684."

The orders given by the King for the distribution of the troops on their return from Tangiers were as follows:—

| List of His Majesty's Forces at Tanger,
as represented by the Lord Dartmouth, viz. | | | Distribution of His Majesty's Forces coming from Tangiers To
the Lord Dartmouth at his return into England, viz. | | | |
|---|------------|----------|---|------------|---------------------|---|
| Division. | Companies. | Numbers. | Division. | Companies. | Numbers. | Quarters. |
| The King's Battalion | 05 | 331 | The King's Battalion | — | All | London. |
| The Earl of Dumbarton's
Regiment | 16 | 628 | The Earl of Dumbarton's
Regiment | 16 | Eight
Six
Two | Rochester.
Winchester.
Southampton. |
| Colonel Kirk's Regiment | 16 | 559 | Colonel Kirk's Regiment... | 16 | Eight
Eight | Pendennis.
Plymouth. |
| Colonel Trelany's Regiment | 16 | 470 | Colonel Trelany's Regiment | 16 | All | Portsmouth. |
| Troops of Horse | 04 | 178 | Troops of Horse | 04 | All | London. |
| Company of Miners | 01 | 48 | Company of Miners | 01 | All | London. |
| Independent Companies.. | 04 | 185 | Independent Companies | 04 | — | Ireland |
| In all 2,299 | | | In all 2,299 | | | |

The Order is endorsed "Marching orders,"* and was given by the King at the Court at Whitehall, on the 20th November, 1683;

* War Office Marching Book, 1683, Vol. I., pp. 19, 20. The same authority (p. 29, and dated 13th December, 1683) gives the King's order to the Earl of Bath, Governor of the garrison of Bath, to quarter eight companies of Colonel Kirk's Regiment there in the place of the Duke of York's Regiment and the Holland Regiment ordered elsewhere.

NOTE.—It is difficult to account for the great diminution in the number of troops as shown by the above return as compared with the muster of December, 1682, where the total is given—

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------|
| Infantry, rank and file ... | 2,757 |
| Non-commissioned officers ... | 475 |
| Horse ... | 179 |
| Making a total of ... | 3,411 |
| Now given in above return as ... | 2,299 |

It may be that the numbers given in the marching orders are only rank and

so it would appear that the King anticipated a much speedier return of the expedition than Lord Dartmouth was able to accomplish.

On the 27th April, an order was received by Colonel Kirk from the King, reducing the two Battalions into one, each company to consist of fifty men. The order was as follows :—*

“For reducing Coll. Kirke’s Regim^t to y^e Establishm^t “Whereas Wee have thought fitt to Establish one Regim^t of Foot within Our Kingdom of England under y^{or} Command to consist of fifty men in each Company besides Officers, Our Will and Pleasure is That out of such of the said Companies as exceed the Number of fifty men as aforesaid you forthwith draw out such Supernumerary Men and place them within such other defective Companies under your Command as you shall think fitt towards the making up the number of fifty private Soldiers in each of them. And that you reduce the Non-Commissioned Officers and Drummers in each Company to the number directed by Our Establishment in that behalf. And for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Given at our Court at Windsor, the 27 day of Aprill, 1684, in the 36th Year of Our Reign.

“To Our Trusty and Wellbeloved Piercy Kirke, Esq.,

“Coll. of Our Tanger Reg^t of Foot.

“By His Maties Command.”

file. If so, we may add to it 475 non-commissioned officers, as shown in musters of December, 1682, and also the following musters of officers taken from a return dated 1st October, 1683, in the Dartmouth MSS., which gives the numbers as follows (also giving the name of every officer in the Regiments and on the Staff) :—

| | | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| King’s Battalion of Guards | ... | ... | ... | ... | 18 |
| Colonel Kirk’s Regiment | ... | ... | ... | ... | 48 |
| Earl of Dumbarton’s Regiment | ... | ... | ... | ... | 61 |
| Colonel Trelawney’s Regiment | ... | ... | ... | ... | 47 |
| Four Independent Companies | ... | ... | ... | ... | 16 |
| Four Troops of Horse | ... | ... | ... | ... | 16 |
| Staff Officers | ... | ... | ... | ... | 21 |
| Total of Officers | | | | | 227 |
| Total of Non-commissioned Officers | | | | | 475 |
| No. of soldiers in Marching Orders | | | | | 2,299 |
| | | | | | 3,001 |
| This, then, agrees pretty nearly with the numbers given in pages 240 and 251, of the total number of troops shipped, viz. | | | | | 2,830 |
| To which may be added the 114 sick soldiers sent home in the <i>Unity</i> on 16th October | | | | | 114 |
| | | | | | 2,944 |

The difference between this and 3,411, see page 212 (the number of December, 1682) being about two per cent.

* Miscellany Orders, War Office, 1683-1697, p. 19.

From the date of the Regiment's arrival in England, where it was taken on the pay of the King's land forces from the 1st of May, 1684, its history becomes more a part of the national history of the country, and will be so treated. It is not too much to say of its history in Tangiers, that the record of its services there furnishes a bright example of the strong self-reliant character of our race, and of the indomitable pluck and resolution that, in the face of the most depressing circumstances, enabled them to retain possession of the place, and, in spite of great difficulties, to retire in the view of the enemy with dignity and without loss. During the latter part of the occupation of Tangiers (from the date of the desperate fights in 1680), the services of other Regiments had to be called in to assist the Queen's Regiment; and the Guards, the Royal Scots (Lothian) Regiment, and the King's Own Royal Lancaster Regiment, with the augmented troops of the old Tangiers Horse (now the 1st Royal Dragoons), from that date took part in the defence of the place, and shared in the troubles and fights that have been related in these pages. The later history of the Queen's Regiment furnishes splendid examples of bravery and discipline; but none of its subsequent services can rival those in Tangiers, when for twenty-two years they heroically held the town under the greatest difficulties, and against overwhelming odds.

No record has been found of the colours of the Regiment at this period, though they were carried in the field at Tangiers, but a full description of them at various times will be given in the later volumes.

The badge of the Paschal Lamb was no doubt adopted by the Earl of Peterborough when he first formed the Regiment, but there is no proof of this. Macaulay writes that, as it was for the purpose of waging war on an infidel nation that they were raised, they therefore carried on their flag "a Christian emblem, the Paschal Lamb." * Cannon and others have given a quite erroneous interpretation of its adoption, by saying that it was the distinguishing badge of Portugal.

Its title of "The Queen's," was probably conferred upon it from its having been raised to protect a possession which the Queen had brought to her husband as a portion of her dowry, and the King must have honoured the Regiment with this designation very soon after its arrival in England, on its return from Tangiers.

On the 27th day of June, 1684, an order† was sent to Kirk to

* Macaulay's History of England, Vol. I., p. 633.

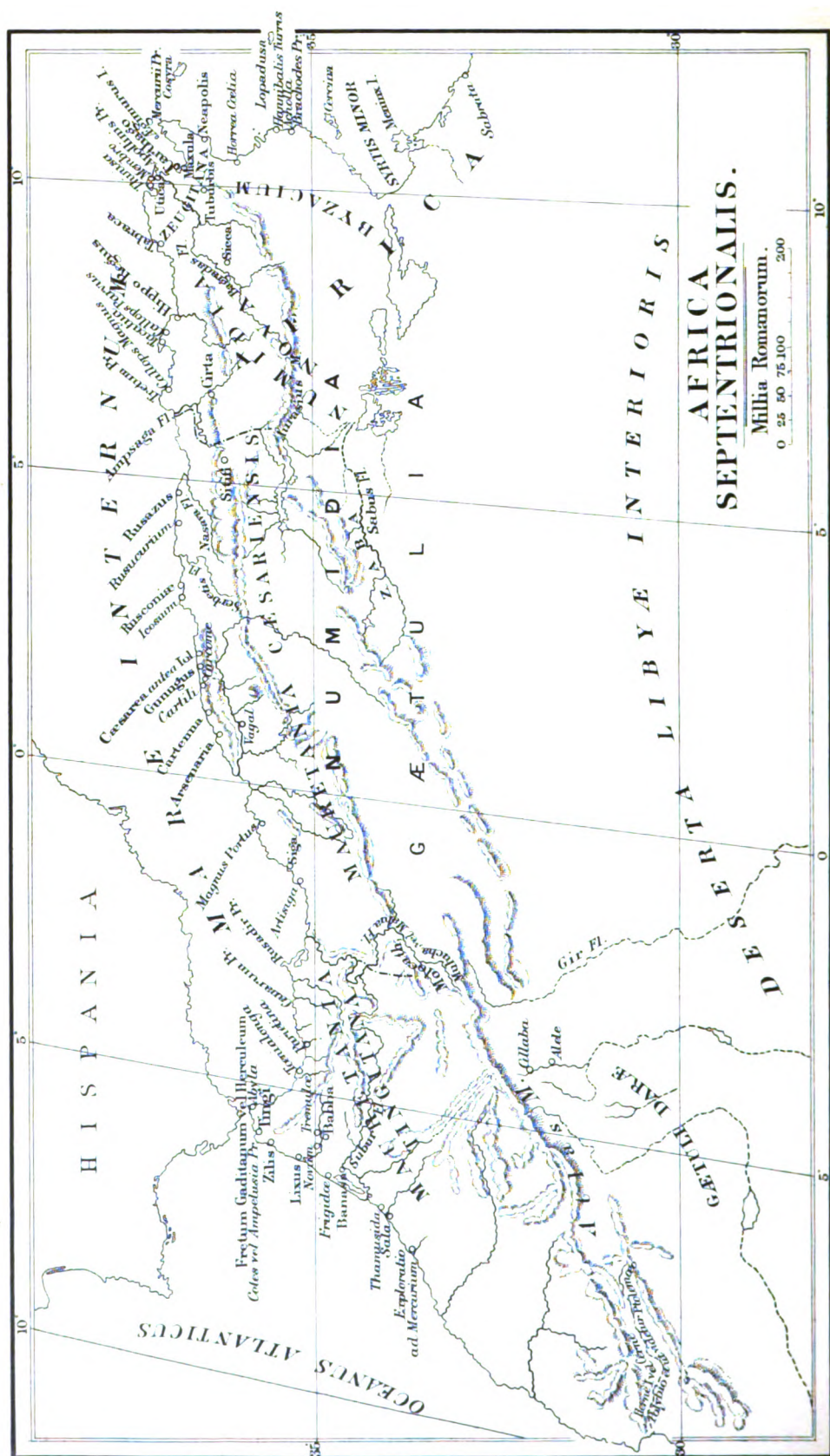
† War Office Miscellany Orders, 1683-97, p. 21.

recruit four companies of his Regiment, which was to be sent to Ireland, and it is there styled, for the first time, "Our Dearest Consort the Queen's Regiment."

It was, no doubt, with the 2nd Tangier Regiment (now King's Own Royal Lancaster Regiment), given a new appellation when it was taken on the pay of the King's land forces on the 1st May, 1684. Before that time it was variously called either by the name of the Governor for the time being, "The Governor's Regiment," or "The Tangiers Regiment."

Previous to the year 1751 all regiments were generally known by the name of their colonel or commanding officer. In 1686 the Tangiers Regiment is said to have been called the Queen Dowager's Regiment. In 1703 it received the title of "Royal," and in 1714 became "Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales's Own;" and on the death of George I., in 1727, "The Queen's Own Regiment." In 1751 the title was again altered, numbers being for the first time given to regiments; and under the Royal Warrant of this date it became "The Queen's (Second) Royal Regiment of Foot" * which title was finally changed, on the 1st of July, 1881, to "The Queen's (Royal West Surrey) Regiment."

* Royal Warrant, dated 1st July, 1751, War Office Miscellany Book (5th June, 1746, to 1st July, 1751), page 502.





APPENDIX A.

MAURITANIA.

TANGIERS, as part of the Old World—Mauritania—has a very ancient history, and, including it in the northern part of Africa, it calls to mind the renowned town and state of Carthage.

This state, once great and powerful, is said to have been founded by Dido* when she fled from the persecutions of her brother Pygmalion, King of Tyre. She landed—having been driven by winds on to the coast of Africa, near to where Utica stood. Having brought with her the immense treasures of her husband, Sichæus or Sicharbas (for the possession of which her brother had imbrued his hands in her husband's blood), she was enabled by its means, and the wonderful skill and energy of the Phœnicians who came with her, to lay the foundation of that great colony, which afterwards became the capital of "Africa proper."

Some writers aver that Carthage was a town before Dido settled there, and that that part of Africa was peopled by the Phœnicians, who were driven out of Canaan by the Israelites.

St. Augustine, in his comments on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, writes that when any of the inhabitants of this country were asked what they were, they answered "Canaanites." An Armenian writer, Moses of Chorene, who died A.D. 488, and Procopius,† who died about seventy years after, aver that in their time there were two pillars of stone with inscriptions on them in Phœnician characters (and that these stones were not far from Tangier), which read, "We are the Canaanites who fled from Joshua, the son of Nun." The story is now rejected by all competent authorities, such as Dr. Milman, Dr. W. Smith, and others, as fabulous. And indeed, if we consider the lapse of time occurring between the evidence adduced and the time it refers to—some 1,600 years previously—it seems hardly possible that these monumental stones could have survived the wreck and destruction which at different times overtook that part of the world.

* Dido, otherwise called Elisa, is said by Bochart, a learned Orientalist, to have been aunt to the famous Jezebel of Scripture. Other historians make her out to be the grand-daughter of that infamous Queen.

† Procopius, the historian of the Eastern (Roman) Empire, was a native of Cæsarea in Palestine. He lived in the reign of the Emperor Justinian, and accompanied Belisarius in his campaigns in Asia, Africa, and Italy. He died about the year A.D. 560.

One of the curious stories that come down to us through this immense lapse of time is that Dido before landing outwitted the then natives by desiring to buy only such a piece of ground as could be compassed by an ox's hide; this was cut up into such small thongs that she enclosed a large tract of land, on which she built the citadel of Byrsa. This commencement of Carthage by Dido is said to have been between the years 874 B.C. (the 7th year of Pygmalion's reign, and the year Dido fled from his persecutions) and the date of the Encœnia or dedication of the city, which, according to Sir Isaac Newton, falls upon the sixteenth year of Pygmalion, or 883 B.C. Blair's tables give the date of its commencement as 869 B.C.

This wonderful people spread themselves by their great enterprise over a large portion of Africa, and by their skill in commerce carried their trade into all parts of the then known world; the islands of Great Britain, it is said, having been visited by their ships.

Before the beginning of the Third Punic War the State of Carthage possessed 300 cities in Africa, and had extended its conquests into Sardinia and Sicily; almost the whole of Spain was also brought under its rule. Carthage was really master of the sea for over 600 years, and no state was ever more renowned for its wealth, commerce, and enterprise. The rival nation of Rome, after the three great campaigns called the Punic Wars,* at last in the year 146 B.C. succeeded in conquering Carthage. The Roman general Scipio laid the town in ruins. It had another lease of glory under the Romans. The spirit of the old Phœnicians was still alive, even though under a foreign yoke. It took more than three Punic wars to destroy completely such a power and state as Carthage had become. Nations may be conquered, and for a time paralysed by conquest, but they can only permanently decay by their own inherent weakness, as did Carthage, and as will in time all other nations that are not wise enough to engraft on their stock young and vigorous communities, and to take care to secure their future by changing laws and government to suit the sure and certain advancement of the people. Carthage was in many ways similar to Great Britain, though in these modern days there are many to dispute with her the empire of the seas; yet if we note the English-speaking nations of the world and the colonies attached to the Empire, we may see many great resemblances between the two.

About thirty years after its destruction by Scipio, Carthage was colonised, by 6,000 Romans, sent over by Consul Gracchus (said to be the first colony sent out from Rome), but it was not until the Cæsars took the rebuilding of Carthage into their hands that it rose to its former grandeur. Julius Cæsar is said by Strabo† to have rebuilt it, and it became afterwards second only to Rome in extent and power, although an outlying province of that great Empire. It was

* The Punic Wars, or the struggle for supremacy between the great rival nations of Rome and Carthage, lasted 118 years. The first Punic War commenced 264 B.C. and continued to 241 B.C., or twenty-four years. The second from 218 B.C. to 201 B.C., or seventeen years. The third from the year 149 B.C. to 146 B.C., or four years.

† Strabo was a celebrated geographer who lived in the time of the Emperor Tiberius. He is said to have died about the year 25 B.C. He was also a great traveller and historian.

considered the capital of Africa for many centuries after the commencement of the Christian era.

In the engulfment of the then civilised world by the Goths and Vandals in the year 439 A.D., Carthage fell into the hands of Genferic King of the Vandals, and the town and its provinces remained under their government until it was retaken by the famous Roman general Belisarius in the year 533 A.D., and again annexed to the Roman Empire. It was afterwards the subject of a siege under the Saracens in the year 698 A.D., who took and completely destroyed it, very few of its remains being now visible. Thus the last expiring spark of a great flame that once lit up the whole known world by the brilliancy and fire of the genius of its people was stamped out by the ancestors of the race who now rule over that part of the world.

The western part of Africa, including of course the town of Tangier, was called Mauritania, a name derived from the "Mauri," an ancient people who inhabited it, and most probably given to them as a people from their being on the west of Carthage and Phœnicia. Bochart* considers the name Maur is a corruption of "Mahur," or "one from the west." This part of Africa is celebrated in fabulous history as being ruled over by Antæus and Atlas, two of the first kings of Mauritania, Numidia, and a great part of Libia, and both sons of Neptune, who reigned over Mauritania. They invaded Egypt and engaged in combat with the mighty Hercules, both being vanquished by this hero. Antæus, the son of Neptune and Terra, or the Earth, was said to have engaged in single combat with Hercules; each time he was thrown down on his mother Earth by his antagonist he received new strength from her to renew the fight, which Hercules at last perceiving held him in his arms and squeezed him to death. Our illustrious countryman, Sir Isaac Newton, endeavours to prove that Ammon, or Amenophis, was the first king of Lybia, or that part of Africa extending from Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean, including Mauritania. His son Sesac or Sesostris (which he supposes was also the Osiris of the Egyptians, and the Bacchus of the Greeks, as well as the Sesac of Scripture) was defeated and slain by Neptune, who had instigated the Lybians to revolt against Sesac. Hercules, the General of the Gods or great men of Thebais and Ethiopia, not long after this event reduced the whole continent of Lybia, having overthrown Antæus near a town in Thebais, called from that event Antæus or Antæopolis.

Sir Isaac Newton also endeavours to prove that Sesac conquered Lybia during his father's lifetime, and that this happened a little above one thousand years before the birth of Christ. Atlas and Antæus are thought by him and others to be the same person. The defeat of Antæus put Hercules in possession of Lybia and Mauritania, and all the riches of those kingdoms. The mythological exploits of Hercules, or his twelve labours, include his killing the dragons that guarded the golden apples in the gardens of the Hesperides† (his twelfth labour), and he is also represented as taking the world on his shoulders from the giant Atlas. Antæus

* Bochart was a most learned orientalist of the Reformed Church. He was born at Rouen in 1599, and died at Caen 16th May, 1667.

† The gardens of the Hesperides were said to be near the residence of Antæus at Lixus, conjectured to be the town of L'Arrache or El Araiche in the kingdom of Fez.

or Atlas is said to have founded Tingis or Tangier and to have been interred there. The great chain of mountains in Mauritania are named Atlas mountains after this mythological hero.

The people of Mauritania, according to ancient writers, are a mixture; first Egyptians (Mizraim peopled Egypt), who spread themselves West from Egypt, then the Canaanites and Phœnicians, afterwards Arabians, who came from Arabia Felix in the first century of the Christian era, and, lastly Mohammedan Arabs, who invaded the country in the seventh and eighth centuries. There was, no doubt, a considerable mixture of Romans, Goths, and Vandals in the large towns during the several occupancies and conquests, but it is improbable that the mass of the population in the country places received many of the aliens in their families.*

Barbary was a name given to the northern coast of Africa, and included all the country along the coast of the Atlantic to Alexandria, and all the kingdoms along that coast—viz., Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, including the kingdom of Telensin, or Tremecen, and Tripoli, including Barca. In Ogilby's "Africa," Barbary is said to be enclosed between Mount Atlas, the Atlantic and Midland Seas, and the Desert of Lybia and Egypt. "For it begins at the mountain Advacal, the first point of the great Mount Atlas, containing the city of Messe and the territory of Sus, and reacheth from thence westward, along the sea-coast of the great ocean, on the north by the Straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean to the borders of Alexandria, eastward by the wilderness of Barca, near Egypt, and on to the south, passing from thence to the Mountains of the Great Atlas."† Barbary was divided, according to ancient geographers, into six parts, viz., Barca, Tunis, Algiers, Fez, Morocco, and Dara.

In this part of Africa lies the ancient Mauritania, divided by Claudius‡ into Mauritania Tingitania and Mauritania Cæsariensis. Peter d'Avilez makes Barbary to contain only five kingdoms, namely, Morocco, Fez, Algiers, which includes Telensin or Tremecen, Tunis and Tripoli, which latter kingdom includes Barca. Some authors say the name Barbary is derived from the Arabic word "Berber," given to the ancient inhabitants by the Arabs, and which name is even now

* In Sir John Drummond Hay's most interesting little work, "Western Barbary," he remarks (p. 44) on an old dame "round whose neck was tattooed the representation of a chain, with the cross of Christ suspended to it," "She perhaps could trace her descent from some tribe which had been tributary to the Roman colonists, who first planted the Christian church in these regions." The western stranger is also still called "Room," or Roman (p. 48). Many other curious customs of the Arabs are related in this most interesting little work clearly traceable to the Roman occupation, and also to the Christian teaching in the old times. Of the Berbers (or Berebbers) Jackson, in his book, "An Account of the Empire of Morocco and the District of Suse, 1809" (p. 135), says:—"In travelling through the Berebbers Kabyles of Ait Imure and Zemure Shulluh, I noticed many who possessed the old Roman physiognomy." The Shulluhs who also inhabit the Atlas Mountains, have many families in their tribes who are reported to be descended from the Portuguese.

† Ogilby's *Africa*, p. 146.

‡ Ogilby says, p. 147, it was under Julius Cæsar that this division of Mauritania took place, but this is clearly an error.

retained by the Moors inhabiting the ridges of the Atlas Mountains. Leo Africanus * appears to think that the name was given to the original inhabitants by Arabs, in consequence of their strange language appearing to them an inarticulate murmur, the Arabic word Berber, or Barbar, signifying "a murmuring sound or noise."

A curious story comes down to us from old times in reference to this name of "Barbary," that an ancient king, Ifrik, from whom some declare the whole continent of Africa derives its name (but which is not so probable as other learned definitions which give its derivation from the Phœnician language) being a fugitive from Arabia Felix and hotly pursued by his enemies, was directed by some of his retinue to hasten, "Bar Bar," which means "To the Desert, To the Desert," and that the people found inhabiting the country were thus called Barbarians and the country Barbary. The famous historian Gibbon,† in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, says the word Barbar may be classed under four periods. 1st. In the time of Homer, when the Greeks and Asiatics might probably use a common idiom, the imitative sound of Bar-bar was applied to the ruder tribes, whose pronunciation was most harsh, whose grammar was most defective. 2nd. From the time at least of Herodotus it was extended to *all* the nations who were strangers to the languages and manners of the Greeks. 3rd. In the age of Plautus the Romans submitted to the insult and freely gave themselves the name of barbarians. They insensibly claimed an exemption for Italy and her subject provinces, and at length removed the disgraceful appellation to the savage or hostile nations beyond the pale of the empire. 4th. In every sense it was due to the Moors; the familiar word was borrowed from the Latin provincials by the Arabian conquerors and has justly settled as a local denomination (Barbary) along the northern coast of Africa.

The country of the Mauritians, with which part of Africa the early history of the Queen's Regiment is connected, is called by Strabo Maurusia, but is more generally known by the name Mauritania. Mauritania Propria, or Tingitana (considered as unconnected with Mauritania Cæsariensis, which was part of the ancient kingdom of Numidia), was formerly that part of Africa which was bounded on the east by the River Malva, or Mulucha (now called Mullooiah); on the west by the Atlantic Ocean; on the south by Getulia, or Lybia; and on the north by the Mediterranean. Its capital town was Tingi in the province of Tingitana.‡

The other Mauritania, called Mauritania Cæsariensis,§ was part of Numidia

* Leo Africanus was a traveller and geographer born in Granada, of Moorish extraction; he was employed by the King of Fez as Ambassador to the European Courts, but having been captured by pirates, he was sold as a slave, and presented by his master to Leo X., Pontiff of Rome, who persuaded him to renounce Mohammedanism, and become a Christian, giving him his own names of John and Leo at his baptism. He wrote, in Italian, a description of his travels in Africa. He died in 1526 A.D.

† Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, Vol. I., p. 162, and Vol. VI., p. 351.

‡ This Tingitana of the ancients very nearly corresponds with the territory of the present provinces of Fez and Morocco.

§ Also called the kingdom of the Massæsalii.

Propria, and extended from the River Malva, Mullooiah, on the West, to the River Ampsaga, sometimes spelt Ampsagee, on the East. This latter river is now called the Wad-el-Kebir or Sufjimar, and higher up its source the Wadi Ronmel.

According to Ptolemy the Mauritaniens were divided into cantons or tribes. The metropolis of Tingitania was Tingis or Tingi.

Some of the principal towns were Zelis, or Zelia of the Carthaginians, and the Julia R. Traducta of the Romans, supposed by some to be the modern Arzila the asylum of the redoubtable warrior Gayland ;—Lixus, the residence of Antæus, supposed to be Larache [L'Arrache] or El Araiche ;—the city of Hanno, called Thymiaterion ;—Sala, near a river of the same name ;—the Port and town of Rutubis 213 miles south of Lixus ;—the Exilissa of Ptolemy, supposed to be Ceuta ;—Rusadir, presumed to be Melila, or Melilla ;—Herpis ;—Volubilis, supposed to be Fez ;—Gilda corresponding to Mequinez ;—Prisciana ;—the Tocolosida of Ptolemy, supposed to be Amergue ; the Trisidis of Ptolemy :—Gontiana, a small place between Fez and Mequinez now called Gamaa :—Banasa :—Chalce :—Calamintha :—&c., &c.

The Government of Mauritania from the earliest time is said to have been an absolute monarchy. Most of the provinces, if not the whole country, were under one sovereign in the reign of the elder Dionysius.

As to their religion, Neptune was one of the principal objects of their adoration. They likewise paid religious honours to the sun and moon in common with other Libyan nations. Bacchus was also worshipped by them. The general character of their religion was similar to the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Persians, and Carthaginians. The chiefs were clad in rich apparel ornamented with the precious metals, and like the Egyptians they took great pains in curling their hair curiously and elegantly. They wore long beards which they carefully combed. They are also said to have cleansed their teeth and pared their nails.

They used clubs in their conflicts until they were taught by their conquerors the use of swords. The Infantry in action used shields made of elephants' skin, and were clad in the skins of lions, leopards, and bears. The Cavalry rode small swift horses without saddles, which they trained so well that they would follow them like dogs. They were armed with broad short lances. They also carried targets or bucklers.

APPENDIX B.

HISTORY OF OLD TANGIERS, AND A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE MOORISH PRINCES WHO ARE REFERRED TO IN THIS VOLUME.

THE port and town of Tangier, which formed part of Catherine of Braganza's wedding dowry to Charles II., has a most ancient and chequered history.

The town stands on the western side of a shallow bay. The ground all about it is of a rocky character, and towards the West the hills rise gradually in swelling undulations towards the Djebel Kebir, or great mountain. The Bay of Tangier is well sheltered, and the anchorage moderately good. The town, as will be seen from the various plans shown in this history, is built on one of the promontories of the bay. The shores here are low and sandy, but the rugged range of the Angera Mountains makes a grand background, culminating in the Ape's Hill opposite Gibraltar.*

The bay of Tangiers is about three leagues from Cape Spartel, the westernmost point of Africa, said by some to be the Cottés of Pliny,† and on entering the bay the town is seen rising up from the sea, the houses looking like irregular steps. The distance of Tangier from Gibraltar is not more than thirty-five miles. The ruined Mole, round which sand has accumulated, is still visible and forms a dangerous reef; the shore shelves very slowly to a moderate depth of water. A description of Tangier, however, as it to-day stands, is not part of our work, as there are so many guide books written about this favourite ground, for artists, and those who like to journey to pleasant lands and so escape our winter climate, that all must be familiar with it.

African geographers assert that the original foundation of Tangier was laid by one Sedded, the son of Hadd, who they also say was the Emperor of the world, and having pitched upon this place as the most beautiful country he had seen he resolved to build a city of no less beauty than an earthly paradise. He therefore set to work and is reported to have surrounded it with brazen walls, and after building the town he covered the roofs of the houses with gold and silver, all the cities of the world having to pay tribute in order that there should be no lack of money to beautify and adorn it. Other fables say that the mythological hero Anteus founded Tangier and was buried there.‡

* Journal of a Tour in Morocco and the Great Atlas. J. D. Hooker and John Ball, 1878.

† Ogilby's Africa, p. 197.

‡ One of the ancient kings of Mauritania named Bocchus, who reigned over that part of Africa in Octavius's time, having rendered some service to him, he

It was called at one time, according to Strabo, Tinga, and also Tingis,* and was the capital town of the western province of Mauritania, called, from the name of its capital, Mauritania Tingitania. From this port no doubt the Romans despatched their conquering armies into Spain, the Emperor Constantine making it afterwards part of the diocese of Spain.

The town of Tingis, as well as the whole of Mauritania, suffered from the Roman troubles, from the invasion of the Goths and Vandals, and their destruction again by Belisarius. After having been for a long time exposed to the tyranny and oppression of the Greek prefects the Mauritaniens revolted, and the Caliphs having conquered Egypt and Syria sent an army to Mauritania, and the whole country submitted to their domination. This return of the country to the Mohammedan rule under the Saracens and Arabs took place between the years 698 and 709.

The Government of Mauritania was conducted by Lieutenants or Viceroy of the Caliphs, and the seat of the Government being so far away it was not long before the Mauritaniens revolted and set up a king of their own.†

The first was Edris, who founded the dynasty of the Edrissites, which began about the year 768 and lasted about 150 years. The last of the Edrissites was destroyed by an usurper (as usual a saintly one) named El Mohadi, but he was not allowed to remain long in possession.‡ The King of Cordova sent over one of his generals, who took part of the Kingdom of Fez, fortified Arzila, near Tangier, and kept the town for some time under the Government of the Cordova kings.

El Mohadi was assassinated, and succeeded by the dynasty of Morabethoon. Abu Tessisin, the first of the line, crossed the Atlas Mountains in 1051 and quickly made himself master of Mauritania.

This monarch founded the town of Morocco, which was finished by his son on a similar plan to the Edrissites, who built the town of Fez. This dynasty of Morabethan was a glorious one in the sense of conquest, for the second king, invited to assist the Mahommedans in Spain, was so successful that in 1102 he was master of all Andalusia, Granada, and Murcia. The last king of the line being Brahem.

The next dynasty was the Moabedins and the first king named Abdulmomen was elected King of Morocco in 1148. The second son of this line was also a great warrior in Spain and was killed there. The last king of this dynasty was named Abdelkadir.

Abdallah, Governor of Fez, was the first king of the next dynasty, which was

granted as a recompense the privileges of Roman citizens to the inhabitants of Tangiers. Later on the town is related to have been betrayed by Jugurtha into the hands of the Romans, and by Caligula made a Roman province, this occurring after Bocchus's death, and its reduction by the Romans having been brought about by the dissensions amongst the Mauritaniens.

* The Arabs call it now Tingiah.

† The centre of the government of the Caliphs was first at Medina, next Damascus, and lastly at Bagdad.

‡ One of the Edris princes was a most learned man, and was the author of a book entitled *Geographia Nubiensis*.

called Benemerins. The third king of this line, Beni Buph, brother of Abdalla, the first king, had great successes in Spain. The last king of this dynasty was also named Abdalla, and he was killed during a civil war brought on by his misgovernment. Muley Check, who was descended from a branch of the Benemerins, was the first king of the new dynasty called the Merini, but he only reigned over the kingdom of Fez, the other parts of Mauritania having during the civil wars of the last king of the Benemerins revolted, and were under separate governments.

During these later troubles the Portuguese, who held Ceuta, had in 1437 attacked the town of Tangier, but they were defeated under its walls and compelled to conclude an ignominious peace. The terms included the cession of Ceuta to the Moors and the delivery as a hostage of the King of Portugal's brother Dom Fernando to the Moors. The other stipulations not having been executed the victors threw Dom Fernando into prison at Fez, and when he died in captivity hung up his body by the heels over the city walls. This episode forms the subject of Calderon's noble play "*Principe Costante*."*

Profiting by the divisions in the old Mauritanian Empire, Alphonso, King of Portugal in 1471, appeared with a fleet before Arzilla, which he took, and he also made himself master of Tangier.

Muley Check, who was at that time besieging Fez, on hearing of the Portuguese invasion, left Fez and marched to Arzilla, but was unable to retake it from the Portuguese, who, when reduced to great straits and driven into the castle, were relieved by the arrival of a fleet under the command of Don Pedro, who made such vigorous use of his ships' guns that he forced the Moorish king to raise the siege and retire. The Portuguese having taken some prisoners of high rank the Moors were obliged to pay a large sum to ransom them.

From this time, though the Portuguese did not retain possession of Arzilla, and other towns on the Atlantic coast that they had taken, Tangier continued in their possession until it was delivered into the hands of the English in 1661.

Some curious and interesting particulars of the Portuguese defence of Tangier against the Moors are given in Sir Hugh Cholmley's pamphlet on Tangier. In this account it is stated that the defence was entrusted to the burghers or inhabitants of the place, who were put into some kind of discipline and instructed in warfare up to a certain point. The number of these civil troops or Militia was one thousand foot and three hundred horse. The foot were divided into five companies, and the whole were enrolled into the King's pay. These citizen soldiers at ordinary times pursued their civil employments, but in an alarm they went at once with their arms to the posts that had been assigned to them. Twenty-four of their horsemen formed a sort of *corps d'élite*, and were always on duty. These were picked men, and were well armed and mounted, "persons of chiefest courage and exceeding knowing in passes and the ground." Eight of these usually went out by night to listen and discover if the Moors were in the field, and returned to town at daybreak with their news.† For the government of the place there was—besides the Governor, who was always a person of quality and title—a Sergeant-Major and two Aid-Majors, and the Captains, Ensigns, Sergeants, and Corporals in their respective

* Morocco and the Great Atlas. J. D. Hooker and John Ball, 1878, p. 7.

† An Account of Tangier, by Sir Hugh Cholmley, Bart., 1787, pp. 6-8.

companies of foot and squadrons of horse. The monthly pay and allowances were as follows :—

To a Foot soldier, a bushel and a half of wheat and six shillings and eightpence in money, two-thirds of the money being paid in clothes ; an Ensign, Sergeant, and Corporal, had each four and a-half bushels of wheat, and the pay for each was : an Ensign, about thirty-three shillings and fourpence ; a Sergeant, about twenty-one shillings ; a Corporal, twelve and sixpence. The Captain's allowance of wheat was seven and a-half bushels, and his pay forty-six shillings and eightpence.

The horsemen bought their horses and arms themselves, and were allowed for their maintenance about six and a half bushels of wheat per month, no regular pay in money, but were rewarded according to their services or by sharing the booty taken.

The twenty-four horse always on duty were allowed a little over fourteen bushels of wheat per month.

The allowances were continued from father to son, and especially to the wives and children of those that were killed by the Moors.

The gates of the town, of which there were two towards the land, were usually kept locked, and had no guards ; the look-out sentries on the walls had to give notice of the approach of any hostile Moors.

The town at the time of its being handed over to the English, consisted of about five hundred houses, one handsome parish church, a convent of Austin Friars, and nine other chapels or places of public devotion. The number of inhabitants was estimated at between 4,000 and 5,000, the proportion of women and children to men being about 67 per cent. of the whole, so that nearly all the male inhabitants were enrolled as fighting men.

The walls on the south and east side were fairly strong, being finished to the ditch by a whole bastion between two half bastions ; on the north side it was fairly secure ; but on the west, towards the enemy's country, the walls were old and weak. On the eastern side was an old castle, which was during the English occupation called York Castle. It was surrounded by the sea on two sides, and on the others it was strengthened with a ditch, that made it very convenient for magazines of warlike stores. There was a foraging port or gate from the castle.*

The disturbed and divided state of the old Mauritanian kingdom, into which it fell on the extinction of the clever warrior dynasty of the Benemerins laid it open to the advent of another saintly adventurer, and he was not long before he made his appearance.

Mahomet Ben Achmet, a Moor from the province of Daru, seeing that the time was favourable for a revolution ; and, like the Soudan Mahdi of the present day, knowing the ascendancy of their religion upon the minds of the people, gave out that he was descended from the Prophet, and by the practice of great piety, and constantly bringing himself into notice, he soon began to make some noise and stir. This ambitious and unscrupulous man had three sons, Abdelguibir, Achmet, and Mahomet, and seeing how much he had gained by his pretence of piety and sanctity, he resolved, in the year 1508, to send his sons on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, to worship at the sepulchre of their great Prophet.

* An Account of Tangier, by Sir Hugh Cholmley, Bart., 1787, p. 10.

Everything favoured his designs, for so well did his sons behave that on their return to Dara the people were much impressed with their devotion to religion and laws that the father decided to send them to the Court of Fez, believing, rightly, that their reputation would precede them there, and the same tactics would enable them to get power and influence, and so favour his ambitious designs. Two of these clever, saintly sons, on arrival at Fez, were well received by the King, who made the eldest President of his College, and the other tutor to his sons. They well carried out their father's designs, and, acting on his advice, they represented strongly to the King how desirable a thing it was to reunite the Moors against the Christian strangers, and to recover their country from foreign hands. The Portuguese were masters of Saffi, and had alliances with powerful tribes in the neighbourhood. The two Moors begged the Fezzian King would give them permission to awaken the religious passions of the people against the foreigners in the provinces of the south, where the Portuguese were so powerful, and only asked him to give them a drum and a banner, with letters of credence to the Princes and Governors of those provinces, and a small retinue of Horse. With this small assistance they undertook to so excite the patriotism of the people that they would be able to free the country from the Portuguese and unite it under his rule. Muley Nassa, or Nazer, the King's brother, mistrusted these men, and warned the King that they were animated more by their own ambition than zeal for the country or for him.

The King was obstinate, gave them what they asked for, and they started on their mission, entering first into the province of Duquella, and through the other provinces to Sus. The mission had all the success anticipated by the traitors; they were soon joined by their father, Mahomet Ben Achmet, and, having gained over a number of the tribes to their cause, they threw off the mask, and took possession (with the help of the Moors of Sus and Dara) of the provinces of Heu, Duquella, and Tarfina. They then proclaimed their father ruler, by the title of Prince of Heu.

The adventurous father and his two sons did not neglect their intended crusade against the Portuguese, nor did the latter allow them to enjoy their new possessions in peace, but made, in concert with their Moorish allies, incursions into the country of Duquella, and even went so far as to threaten Morocco.

Not long after he had been made Prince of Heu, Mahomet (the father) died, and left to his sons the accomplishment of the ambitious dreams he had so long cherished. The sons continued the opposition to the incursions of the Portuguese, whom they defeated in different places, losing in one of them their elder brother, Abdelguibir, who had joined them in their fortunes. They now entered into an alliance with Nasser Buchentuf, formerly Governor of the town of Morocco, but who had made himself King, and having gained his confidence, they killed him on his return from hunting, with a poisoned biscuit; and Achmet, who had the support of the principal people in the town on account of his learning and piety, now had himself proclaimed King of Morocco. The King of Fez began too late to see the mistake he had made in not following his brother's advice.* It was not long before a cause of quarrel was found. The men he had himself trusted and raised to power were, as Princes of Morocco, endeavouring to

* Chenier's *Recherches Historiques sur les Maures*. Vol. III., pp. 299-300.

add to their new kingdoms the one whose king had befriended them, raised them to power, and trusted in their specious promises. At first Muley Achmet, to soothe the susceptibilities of the King of Fez, pretended he was only a governing king under the King of Fez, and offered to pay tribute; but after a time they began further conquests, and became so powerful that they at last refused to pay tribute, and sent presents in lieu, or, as they said, as tokens of friendship. The King of Fez dying about this time, his son, Muley Oatas Merini (the pupil of the usurper Mahomet) succeeded him. He saw that unless he took active steps to stop the plans of the brothers, he should be swallowed up by their devouring ambition. He therefore took the field against them, and besieged Morocco, conducting the operations himself, but soon had to return to Fez to quell a revolt in his kingdom, led by his brother. After he had tranquillized his kingdom he returned to the attack on the two usurpers, but was completely defeated by them, and retreated precipitately to his capital, in such disorder that he had to abandon all his baggage, women, and guns. He was assisted in his attack by the deposed King of Granada, Abu Abdallah; this Prince, with the son of the King of Fez, being killed early in the fight.* A year after this victory the usurpers crossed the Atlas Mountains, and conquered the kingdom of Tafilet. On their return they levied contributions in the provinces of Fez, and forced the troops of the king to retreat northwards. Muley Mahomet after this, leaving his brother at Morocco, went to Taradunt, and, in 1536, began to force the Portuguese out of Aguadii and St. Croix, in which he was successful. The two brothers having so far succeeded, began, like thieves, to fight over the spoils. Muley Achmet was King of Morocco, and Muley Mahomet King of Sus, but the latter was under agreement to pay to his brother a fifth of all the booty gained in his campaigns. Mahomet, after a time, finding himself a favourite with the Moors, and feeling himself equal in power to his brother, the King of Morocco, refused to acknowledge any right to exact tribute from him. The quarrel became at last so vehement that a saintly man begged them to meet, to try and arrange their difficulties. At the interview that ensued the King of Morocco basely endeavoured to strangle his brother while embracing him.

The rupture had now become complete, and the two brothers began to struggle each to have sole rule of the kingdoms they and their father had won by fraud and treachery. The King of Morocco sent his son, Muley Sidan, with an army into Dara, part of the kingdom of Sus, under pretence of demanding the tribute that was due to him. At first he was successful against his uncle, Mahomet, but at last Muley Achmet (who had joined his sons, Muley Sidan and Muley Boeza) met his brother Mahomet. In a decisive battle Achmet was defeated, and, with his son Boeza, taken prisoner, and conducted to Taradunt.

Muley Sidan escaped to Morocco with the remnant of his forces. The conqueror, Muley Mahomet, was induced (upon the solemn promise of his brother that he would fairly divide their conquests between them) to release him and his son, and they returned home to Morocco. Basely ignoring his promise, Achmet at once set to work to prepare for war on his too-confiding brother.

Mahomet, enraged at this brother's baseness, crossed the Atlas Mountains, and

* Chenier's *Recherches Historiques sur les Maures*, Vol. III., p. 303.

invaded the kingdom of Morocco. On the 19th of August, 1544, he attacked and completely defeated the army of Achmet, and followed up his victory so closely that he entered the town and palace of Morocco before his brother. Muley Achmet, on arriving at the town, and finding it in the possession of Mahomet, took refuge in a sacred place, and sent his sons Sidan and Boeza to ask succour from the King of Fez, who, delighted to find the robbers quarrelling, promised them assistance, but resolved at the same time, at the first opportunity, to profit by their divisions.

The two brothers were again brought to an interview, and Mahomet, after reproaching his brother for his former breach of faith, sent him and his sons into Taflet to govern it, and set himself the task of chastising the King of Fez, for, as he said, entertaining the appeal for help from his nephews. On this pretext he endeavoured to justify his baseness in trying to complete the ruin of the sovereign who had befriended him and his brother at the beginning of their career. After a series of battles and sieges, the King of Fez was completely defeated, and his town and castle of Fez captured; after the conqueror had taken one of his daughters for a wife, he sent the poor King and his children to Morocco and Taradunt, where they were strangled.

The history of the struggles and treacheries of these two precious saintly brothers, and their numerous fights, would take too much time and space; but it will suffice to relate that after the complete conquest of Fez, Mahomet sent his brother Achmet with his family into the desert, to prevent them from plotting against him. Mahomet, having been invaded by people from the North (from the province of Rif, assisted by the Governor of Algier), his brother took advantage to return and take possession of Taflet, but, being again defeated by his brother, he once more threw himself upon his mercy. This time Mahomet strangled his nephews, and kept his brother in prison. In 1556, he himself, having gone to chastise some mountain tribes who had been giving him trouble, was assassinated by a Turk who had entered his service for this purpose, and his imprisoned brother was poisoned by Ali Ben Bowker, the Governor of Morocco—fitting end for such traitors and hypocrites. Muley Abdalla, one of the sons of Mahomet, was proclaimed King of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco in 1557; and after inaugurating his reign by a wholesale slaughter of his brothers and nephews, he died in 1574, and was succeeded by his son Muley Mahomet II., who at once imitated the example of his father, and had two of his brothers murdered. He was drowned, and was succeeded by his uncle, Muley Achmet II. This King, to secure the succession of the throne to his son Muley Sheck, made his brothers take vows of fidelity to him. On the death of Achmet II., in 1603, his youngest son, Muley Sidan, was made King; but he did not keep his kingdom without difficulty, for his three brothers disputed his rights, and it is said that in the short space of two months each of the brothers were respectively masters of the Empire.*

Lancelot Addison,† in his book entitled, "West Barbary, or a Short Narrative of the Revolutions of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco," gives a different account of Achmet's sons. He says that about the year 1607, on the death of Achmet, his

* Chenier's *Recherches Historiques sur les Maures*, Vol. III., p. 331.

† *The Revolutions of Fez and Morocco*, 1671, p. 7.

sons fought for the succession; "Bofères and Sidan opposing Muley Sheck, their elder brother, in his succession. But Muley Sheck and Bofères dying in the wars, Morocco was left to Abdalla, son of Muley Sheck, who scarce occupied the throne before he was violently pulled thence by his uncle Sidan, and by an unintended kindness freed from the troubles of a crown." *

The eldest brother, Muley Sheck, whom the father had designed to be his successor, asked succour in money from Philip III., of Spain, and gave him as security the town of "L'Arrache." Thus the Moors, owing to their family feuds, gave strangers parts of their country for assistance, and then it was the rule to fight to dispossess the foreigners of what in their need they had given away. Muley Sidan had much trouble during his long reign from the incursions of the Berebers from the mountains, and also with the Sallee and Algerine pirates, and from two religious zealots, Abdela and Hean. "But his great valour maintained him against both. For by his own arms he pacified the tumults on land, and by the assistance of the English shipping he destroyed the pirates of Sallee, which so much disquieted the ocean; and this being done, he sent to have the like aid against those of Algiers, the pest of the Mediterranean."* He sent a very curious letter on this subject to King Charles I., dated 1625, which thus commences:—

"When these our letters shall be so happy as to come to your Majesties sight, I wish the Spirit of the Righteous God may so direct your mind that you may joyfully embrace the message I send, presenting to you the means of exalting the Majesty of God and your own reward amongst men. . . . It is the Excellencie of our office to be instruments whereby happiness is delivered to the nations." After modestly announcing his success at Sallee, he hopes that they might join their forces against Tunis and Algiers; the English King to provide forces by sea, and the writer soldiers on land, to conquer these "Dens and Receptacles for the inhuman villanies of those who abhor Rule and Government." He finishes his note by a reference to "James, your father of Glorious Memory, so happily renowned amongst all nations;" and then, with a final compliment to Charles, he writes:—"It was the noble fame of your princely virtues, which resounds to the utmost corners of the earth, that persuadeth me to invite you to partake of that blessing wherein I boast myself most happy. I wish God may heap the riches of his blessings on you, increase your happiness with your days, and hereafter perpetuate the greatness of your name in all ages." †

Charles did not respond to this gracious invitation. In 1662, an Ambassador was sent to Morocco from Holland, and was accompanied by a learned professor, who seems to have rather astonished the king by the facility with which he wrote Arabic.

Muley Sidan left his kingdom pacified and united; but his son Abdelmelek, who succeeded him, by his drunkenness and cruelty soon sowed seeds of dissatisfaction, giving opportunities for factions to rise, one of which placed his brother Achmet on the throne of Fez. After a short reign of four years, Abdelmelek was assassinated in his tent in 1635,‡ and his brother, Muley El Valid, succeeded to the throne. He was troubled by the plottings of his brother

* The Revolutions of Fez and Morocco, Addison, pp. 7-8. † Idem.

‡ Chenier's *Recherches Historique sur les Maures*, Vol. III., p. 333.

Semen, and although considered a prince of gentle and generous nature, he is said to have strangled him, after defeating his troops. During El Valid's reign M. Sanson, an Ambassador from France, visited Morocco, in order to ransom some French subjects in captivity. El Valid died a natural death (quite a rarity in Morocco, for truly it might be said of them, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown") in 1647, after reigning twelve years. He was succeeded by his brother, Muley Hamet Sheck, the last child of Muley Sidan. This prince is said to have been so idle and given so much to sensual pleasures, that his subjects soon began to be turbulent. The mountaineers, as usual, conducting the rebellion, at last laid siege to Morocco, which they took, Muley Hamet being killed, and one of his factious chiefs, Crom El Hagi, was proclaimed King. The story of Sheck's reign and death is given otherwise by Addison ; * he makes out Sheck to be a renowned and good king, beloved by his subjects, over whom he reigned nineteen years, and was at last said to have been made away with by one of his wives, who had conceived an affection for Crom El Hagi (called by Addison Kirum El Hadgi). He further relates a most romantic history of the minority of a son of Sheck, named Labesh, who was three years of age at his father's death. His kingdom was ruled under a Regency till he was eleven, when he came to the throne, and in the second year of his reign he had to fight with the usurper Crom, or Kirum, which campaign lasted four years, ending in the death of the young King by an act of treachery. Crom is said to have been assassinated at last by one of his mistresses ; he was succeeded by his son, Muley Bowcar, who only reigned three months, and was dethroned by Taffileta.

The Emperor Taffileta, or Reshid Archid of the house of Felili, by which names he is called in different narratives of this remarkable man's career, was the son of a Shariff, Cherif, or Zeriff, called Muley Ali, said to be a descendant of Mahomet the prophet. Muley Ali was born in the town of Zambo near Medina, and was brought by some Moors from Taffilet, who, having made a pilgrimage to Mecca, brought him from that holy place, and, according to a tradition of the Moors, his arrival made barren trees bear fruit out of season. They therefore believed that the Almighty had sent Ali to be their King, and to put an end to the dissensions and troubles of their country, so they proclaimed him King of Taffilet. All the other provinces of this part of Africa, with the exception of the kingdom of Morocco, were then governed by the plebian usurper Crom el Hadgi. His election was apparently a good choice, and the people were content during his reign. He ruled them justly, and upon his death he was succeeded by his son, Muley Mahomet. This son seems to have been also a good man, but his reign was soon disturbed by the revolt of his younger brother Muley Archid. This man, who appears to have been a Moorish Napoleon, was at first defeated by his brother, but, cleverly escaping from prison, he made his way to Temsena, where, without making himself known, he offered his services to the Cidi Mahomet Ben Buker† (called also Cidi Hadgi Ben Buker), and served in his army as a simple soldier with zeal and fidelity until recognised by Ben Bowcar's children, when he fled to Quiviane

* The Revolutions of Fez and Morocco, Addison, 1671, pp. 17-21.

† This is the Ben Buker, or Ben Bowcar, who is often mentioned in the early pages of this volume.

in the province of Rif, and, offering his services to Ali Soliman, the Governor, he so ingratiated himself into his good graces that he entrusted him with a command of troops. Being sent into the country to quiet disorder he levied contributions, and distributed the money amongst the soldiers, and so gained them over to his side that when his master, Ali Soliman, alarmed at his lieutenant's doings, marched against him, he soon defeated him, and cruelly put him to death, distributing his treasures amongst the united troops. Archid now felt himself sufficiently powerful to combat his brother again, who, alarmed at the rapid progress of Archid, did not wait to be attacked, but marched against him. Mahomet was defeated and pursued to Taffilet, where he was besieged by Archid, and becoming depressed by his position and his brother's reputed ferocity, he fell ill and died a few days after the commencement of the siege, in 1664.

It will be necessary to retrace our steps a little in order to bring on the scene some Moors, one of whom becomes a central figure in our Tangiers narrative. Crom El Hadgi, the usurping king of Morocco, was not popular with his nobles and chiefs; he was—although of saintly renown—of mean pedigree, and as he had, on ascending the throne, murdered all the remaining progeny of the cherifs, he was detested by those nobles and chiefs who had remained faithful to the old dynasty. Amongst these nobles three were prominent, Cidi Hamet-Ali-Haiashi, Cidi Mahumet Ben-el Hadge-Ben-Boucar, and the Zeriff of Benzaruel, the first known as Cidi Ali, and the other as Ben Bowcar, or Ben Bukar.* The first two were great chiefs, and, as will be seen, good soldiers also, and both were very ambitious. Cidi Ali was an Arab, or one of those Moors who live in tents and have no fixed home. He was a great authority in all matters of religion, and, being a very learned man, was looked upon as an oracle, and was a kind of judge in settlement of all disputes. His family were hereditary governors of Abenimalacc, a large cavila† on the river Marmora, and he ruled so justly, that he was as well liked by his own people as feared by his neighbours. He gradually organised his own people into troops, and he managed his affairs so well, continually adding to his strength by recruits from other of the neighbouring provinces, that he soon felt himself in a position to take the field against Crom El Hadgi. The governor was so frightened at Cidi Ali's advance that he fled to Morocco, and the town became an easy conquest. The Fez kingdom continued under his rule for the space of seven years. Ben Bowcar, the other chief, whose cavila Zawia‡ was so far remote from Ali Haiashi's dominions that they caused the latter no trouble, began at last to be jealous of his rival Cidi Ali's successes; but, not being able to meet him in the field, his forces being so much smaller, the common Moorish tactics—treachery—was resorted to. The instrument was soon found in one Ali Ben Hamet, a small chief whom Haiashi had not entirely

* Both these chiefs were reported to be very ambitious, and aimed at being the Alexander of Mauritania Tangitania. Ben Buker, or Ben Bowcar, is the Prince who has already appeared in our narrative, and who is so often referred to in the Tangiers Papers.

† A cavila was a division in the country much like that of our counties in England.

‡ The inhabitants of Zawia were numerous and warlike, and quite ready to help their trusty and saintly leader in any enterprise he might undertake.

subdued, and whom he consulted as to the best means of removing, as he thought, their common enemy. Cidi Ali encamped near Azount, a fountain he greatly esteemed, about six leagues from Alcazar. Ali Ben Hamet,* with a company of about seventy horse, came to tender his submission. He was most imprudently admitted into Cidi Ali's tent, which was not guarded, and, stabbing his host, escaped with his accomplices without harm. Ben Bowcar, as soon as he heard of the success of their conspiracy, at once marched to take possession of Cidi Ali's territories, which he did without much loss; Fez and Alcazar alone costing him some trouble. Tetuan welcomed him as its ruler, as he had already some relations in the governing body, one of his wives being of the ancient family of the Narses, a leading family in Tetuan.

This successful campaign was only accomplished some twelve years after his revolt from Crom el Hadgi, and having brought this part of Barbary under his rule he returned to Zawia. He left the newly-conquered towns under the government of his sons and favourites. The eldest son, Abdalla, had Sallee; the second son, Mahomet, was left in charge of Fez; and to the third son, Hamet Zeer, or Hamet the Less, he gave the command of Shehall. Two of his favourites, Benzeir and Cidi Benzian, he gave respectively Arzilla and Alcazar to govern. Ben Bowcar now returned to Zawia, and, no doubt in order to further assure the success of his conquests, took with him some sons of the conquered chiefs, to educate. Gayland, who ultimately gave us so much trouble, was one of these youths. He was from Beniworfut, near Arzilla. Gayland's father, Ali Gayland, was a firm and loyal supporter of Haiashi, and was of a good family in Beniworfut. He was famous for his knowledge of Mohammedan law; and was also looked upon as a great saint. He was invited by the people of Arzilla to reside amongst them, which he did until his death, being always held in great respect and reverence. At his death-bed he called his beloved son, El Hader Gayland, and committed to his care his family and the government of his country, and he charged him with all earnestness to be loyal and faithful to his ruler, Cidi Ali. Gayland, being very young when his father died, was left to be carefully educated by his friend Hamet Benziam, Almocaden of Beni Haras. This young Gayland was the only one of the hostages that Ben Bowcar retained with him, and when the young chief was about twenty-three years of age he was foolishly allowed to go to his cavila Beniworfut, of which his family were hereditary governors, to be married to the daughter of one of the principal inhabitants of Beniworfut, a chief named Akadim. Young Gayland, who was at the time of his marriage about twenty-three years old, had hardly completed his marriage ceremonies when there happened a revolt in the Arab cavilas of Sapbean, Shawia, and Humar, in which were two of Ben Bowcar's brothers, Abdelbalac and Missinievi, who had been sent by him on some duties there.

Gayland no sooner heard of this than he assembled all the best horse troops in his cavila and sped to Alcazar. Hearing that Ali Ben Hamet, Cidi Ali's murderer, was there, he sought him out and killed him with his own hand, thus revenging the assassination of his father's friend, and killing one of Ben Bowcar's best supporters. Gayland then hastened to Arzilla, where he was received with open arms,

* An Almocaden of Saphian, a Barabar. An Almocaden is a subordinate governor of a cavila.

and with the remembrance of the father's good qualities they were delighted to throw in their fate with his son, several of the neighbouring cavilas following suit. Ben Bowcar, as soon as he heard of the revolt and the murder of his ally, hastened to revenge his friend's death, and also to chastise the rebellious Gayland. He was successful with the first part of his task, but Gayland, not being in a position to resist Ben Bowcar in the open, took refuge in Arzilla, obliging him, as the town was well fortified and almost impregnable, to invest it; and ultimately, not being able to take it he withdrew his army. Gayland then issued out and renewed his revolt, and, having repeated these tactics several times, Ben Bowcar was at last constrained to offer him the government of Arzilla and his own cavila, upon his promise to pay him tribute and an acknowledgment of his sovereignty. Gayland was only too pleased to enter upon such a favourable stipulation, as being shut up in Arzilla was a severe restraint upon his despotism and a hindrance to his ambitious designs. As soon as Ben Bowcar had returned home, he quickly commenced scheming by all means in his power to advance his influence and position. He ingratiated himself with the nobles of the country, and, to further increase his power and influence, he contracted marriages with the daughters of powerful chiefs. As he was by the laws of the Prophet allowed four wives, he took care that they should be influential alliances, and in different places. As we have already seen, his first wife was the daughter of a leading man in Beniworfut. He took for his second wife a daughter of Cassian Shot, the Almocaden of the cavila of Angera; his third wife was the daughter of Coger, Alcaide of Alcazar; and his fourth a daughter of the Governor of Tetuan, named Mufadal. The daughter of Cassian Shot dying, he married the daughter of one Messimd of Tetuan, a man of influence there, and descended from a "saint." Gayland now turned his attention to exciting the Moors to enter on an enterprise against the Portuguese and Spaniards in the several towns on the coast, and urging that, as the Christians were the enemies of their religion and oppressors of their laws, it was their duty to chase them out of the country, and death in such an enterprise would send them to Paradise. Having gained some credit by several skirmishes against the Christians, he next impressed upon them the absolute necessity, if they were to succeed in their righteous designs, that they must combine loyally and under one leader, and that leader could not be their present Prince Ben Bowcar, as he was too far from the place of their undertaking, and was also too old for such active service. His arguments and harangues had the effect he intended, and his father-in-law, Coger, the Alcaide of Alcazar, was the first to declare his adhesion to Gayland's government; he was soon followed by the Governors of the other cavilas, and in a short time he found himself at the head of all the provinces that Ben Bowcar had taken from Cidi Ali, with the exception of Sallee and Tetuan. Further details of the Moorish princes, or of such as appear in the history of the Regiment, will be found in the earlier pages of this volume.

APPENDIX C.

LAWES AND ORDINANCES OF WAR, ESTABLISHED FOR THE BETTER
GOVERNING HIS MAJESTIES FORCES IN THE KINGDOMS OF SUS, FEZ, AND
MOROCCO, UNDER THE COMMAND OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF
PETERBURGH.

OF DUTIES TO GOD.

I.

Let no man presume to Blaspheme the Holy Trinity—God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost ; nor the Known Articles of the Christian Faith, upon pain of his tongue bored with a red hot iron.

II.

Unlawful Oathes and execrations and scandalous derogations of God's honour, shall be punished with loss of pay, and other punishments at discretion.

III.

All those who often and willing absent themselves from Sermons and publique Prayers, shall be proceeded against at discretion. All those who shall violate places of Publique Worship, or things consecrated to holy use, shall be punished at the discretion of the Lord General, or a Court Martial.

OF DUTIES TO HIS MAJESTY.

I.

All and every Officer and Souldier that shall receive Commission, or be Listed in His Majesties Army under the Command of the Earl of Peterburgh, shall within twenty daies after the receipt of their Commission, or the day of their being Listed, take the Oathes of Supremacy and Allegiance ; and all such as shall refuse to take these Oathes, shall immediately be dismissed their Command or other place in the Army, at the discretion of the Lord General.

II.

All such other Officer or Souldier as shall use any Treasonable or reproachful speeches against His Majesties Sacred Person or Royal Authority, shall dye without mercy.

III.

Whosoever shall speak words tending to the dishonour of his Royal Highness James Duke of York, or any other the Royal Family, shall immediately be Cashiered, forfeit his Arrears, and be made for ever incapable of any employment in the Army.

OF DUTIES IN GENERAL.

I.

Every Souldier shall aid and defend his Colours by day and by night, and on the first warning repair unto them, not departing thence until they are in a place of Safety, on pain of death.

II.

All such as shall practice or entertain Intelligence with any of His Majesties Enemies, by any manner of means or slights, and have any communication with them, without Direction from the Lord General, shall be punished with death without mercy.

III.

No man shall relieve the Enemy with Money, Victuals, or Ammunition ; neither harbour or receive any such, upon pain of death.

IV.

If a Town, Castle or Fort be yielded up without the utmost necessity, the Governour thereof shall be punished with death.

V.

If it chance that the monethly entertainment be not paid on the very day, or that it cannot be sent unto the Souldiers for some cause, be it through any hinderance of the Enemy or otherwise, none shall therefore make any tumult, or speak any seditious words, or seek to force his Captain to the payment thereof, neither yet do the less duty, but shall have a care of his Marches and Watches contenting himself with a reasonable Loan until the Money be come, and he shall fully perform the duty of a good Souldier, and whosoever doth the contrary, or accompanies those that do, shall dye for it.

VI.

He that in any quarrel, fight, or otherwise, shall call those of his Nation to help, or gather or assemble together, shall be put to death.

VII.

Whosoever shall go a free-booting, and shall commit spoils, extortions and theft, shall be put to death, or otherwise severely punished at the discretion of the General.

VIII.

If any run away to the Enemy, or in his flight be taken from the Enemy, he shall be punished with death.

IX.

If any prisoner be found walking along Camp or place of Garrison without leave from the General, or him that commands there, he to whom the prisoner belongs shall forfeit him to those that first lay hands on the prisoner.

X.

Concerning lawful prizes, whosoever bringeth in the same shall acquaint therewith the General, or him that commands in the quarter, within three hours after their return, to the end they may be accordingly Registered, upon pain of forfeiting the same, and to be besides punished at discretion.

XI.

Whosoever shall have gotten anything from the Enemy and giveth no notice thereof that it may be Recorded, and after sold in the Camp or place of Garrison, but shall sell or cause to be sold without Special Order, shall without any mercy

be punished with death, to the end that better order be held in all, and no man wronged of his right.

XII.

None shall by couzening get away his fellows' Provisions, Victuals, or Arms, in pain of being Cashiered and banished for three moneths out of Camp, or otherwise sustain such corporal punishment as shall be adjudged suitable to the quality of the offence.

XIII.

Whosoever shall have taken or stohn any Victuals or other Provisions brought up towards the Camp, Garrison, or other place under the jurisdiction of His Majesty, shall be hanged without mercy.

XIV.

Whosoever shall be convicted to do his duty negligently and carelesly, shall be punished at discretion.

XV.

Whosoever shall presume to violate a safeguard shall dye without mercy.

XVI.

Whosoever shall come from the enemy without a Trumpet or Drum after the custom of War, or without a Pass from his Excellency within the quarters of the Army, or within a Garrison Town, shall be hanged as a Spie.

OF DUTIES TOWARDS SUPERIORS AND COMMANDERS.

I.

Whosoever shall use any words tending to the hurt or dishonour of the Lord General, whereby to cause a Mutiny, shall be punished with death, or at the discretion of a Court Martial.

II.

No man shall presume to quarrel with his Superiour Officer upon pain of Cashiering and Arbitrary punishment; nor to strike, or offer to draw his Sword against any such, upon pain of death.

III.

No man shall violently assault the Commissary of Musters on pain of death.

IV.

No Souldier shall depart from his Captain without Licence (though he serve still in the Army, upon pain of death.

V.

No man shall resist, draw, or offer to draw or lift his weapon against any officer correcting him for his offence, upon pain of death.

VI.

Every private man or Souldier upon pain of Imprisonment shall keep silence when the Army is to take Lodging, or when it is Marching, or in Batalio, so as the Officers may be heard, and their Commandments executed.

VII.

No Souldier shall, without Order from their chief Commander or Captain, hold any common meeting or gathering together, nor yet be present at such Assemblies, on pain of death: Provided always that such Captain or Commander as shall suffer the same to happen at undue seasons, and unlawful-

wise, shall, for an example to others, be punished with death before all the Souldiers.

VIII.

No man shall resist the Provost-martial, or any other Officer in the execution of his Office, or break Prison, upon pain of death.

IX.

No man shall utter any words of Sedition and uproar, or mutiny, upon pain of death; neither shall he rehearse any such words, or practise anything whereby any mutiny or sedition may grow, upon pain of death.

X.

The same punishment shall be inflicted on them, who after they have heard mutinous speeches, acquaint not their Commander, or some other Officer, therewith within four-and-twenty hours.

XI.

Whosoever shall receive any injury, and shall take his own satisfaction, shall be punished with Imprisonment, and as it shall be thought fit by the Martial Court; but he that is injured shall be bound, if he do not forgive the injury, to seek reparation by complaint to his Captain or Colonel, or other superiour Officer, and it shall be given him in ample manner.

XII.

If any Souldier shall refuse the Command of his Captain, or any other who Commands over him in the Service of His Majesty, and not perform the same, he shall be punished with death, as he likewise shall who transgresseth any of the General's Commands published by sound of Drum or Trumpet.

XIII.

Whosoever shall by word or deed, abuse Serjeant-major doing his Office, be he Captain or Souldier, shall be punished with death, or at the discretion of a Court-Martial, as he also shall be who will not content himself with that Quarter or Lodging whereto he shall be assigned by his Quartermaster or other Officer appointed for that purpose, or he that shall disturbe any other man in his place.

OF MORAL DUTIES.

I.

Drunkenness in an Officer shall be punished with loss of place; in a private Souldier, with such Penalties as the General or Court-Martial shall think fit.

II.

He that is drunken on the Watch-day shall be Cashiered and Banished the Camp.

III.

Rape, Ravishment, and unnatural abuse, shall be punished with death.

IV.

Adultery, Fornication, and other dissolute lasciviousness, shall be punished at discretion, according to the quality of the offence.

V.

Theft and Robbery exceeding the value of Twelve pence shall be punished with death.

VI.

He that is found drunk, or convicted of frequent swearing, shall forfeit half a day's Pay.

VII.

No man shall use reproachful or provoking words or act to any, upon pain of Imprisonment, and such further punishment as shall be thought fit to be inflicted upon enemies to Discipline and Service.

VIII.

No man shall take the goods or spoil of him that dieth or is killed in Service, upon pain of restoring double the value, and Arbitrary Punishment.

IX.

Murder shall be expiated with the death of the Murderer.

OF CHALLENGES AND DUELS, OR PROVOCATIONS.

I.

If any make or send a Challenge, or otherwise provoke a Captain or other Officer of the Army to Duel or single Combate, he shall die for it without mercy. If this be done by one private Souldier to another, the same punishment shall be inflicted, or at the discretion of the Court-Martial.

II.

He that shall strike any man with his Sword undrawn, or with a Cudgel, Stone, or otherwise, that blood follows, shall lose his hand, or be otherwise punished at the discretion of a Court-Martial.

III.

If any upbraid a Souldier for refusing Challenge made or sent unto him, and the Souldier so upbraided shall demand reparation of the Court, if the party be an Officer, he shall lose his Office, whatsoever it be, and be further punished, at the discretion of the Lord General, or the Court, but if a private Souldier, then at discretion.

IV.

He that shall give any one a box on the ear, shall in presence of the same company take the like box of the part so wronged, and besides, be disarmed and banished the Company. If any two go into the field, and there fight with sword, Pistol, or other Weapon, though no death follow on either part, yet if they be Officers, they shall lose their places, and be disabled to bear Office for time to come, unless upon humble submission they or either of them shall be restored to that capacity by the Lord General in open Court. But if two private Souldiers so do, they shall be punished with the wooden horse, or otherwise at the discretion of the Court, and the like to be done by their or any of their Seconds, who in all respects are to be taken as Principals in these cases.

OF A SOULDIER'S DUTY TOUCHING HIS ARMS.

I.

All Souldiers coming to the Colours to watch, or to be exercised, shall come fully armed, with Arms fixed and decently kept, upon pain of severe correction and punishment, such as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

II.

If a Trooper shall lose his horse, or hackney, or a Footman any part of his Arms by neglect, or lewdness, by Dice, or Cards, he or they shall remain in quality of Pioneers, till they be furnished with as good as they lost, at their own charge.

III.

No Souldier shall give to pawn, or sell his Armour or Arms, upon pain of Imprisonment and punishment at discretion. And wheresoever any Armour or Arms shall be found so sold or pawned, they shall be brought again into the Army.

IV.

If any Trooper shall spoil his horse willingly, on purpose to be rid of the Service, he shall lose his horse, and remain in the Camp for a Pioneer.

V.

If any borrow Arms of another to pass the Muster withal, the borrower shall be rigorously punished, and the lender shall forfeit his goods.

VI.

None shall presume to spoil, sell, or carry away any Ammunition delivered to him, upon pain of death, or otherwise grievously punished, at the discretion of a Court-Martial.

OF DUTIES IN MARCHING.

I.

If any shall depart out of the Rank or Order wherein he is placed, unless it be on necessary occasion, and that he hath therewith acquainted his Officer, he shall be punished with death.

II.

None in their march through the Countries under His Majesties Obedience or Protection, shall waste, spoil, or extort any victuals, money or goods, from any person (upon any pretence of want whatsoever) upon pain of death, or such severe punishment as a Court-Martial shall think fit to be inflicted.

OF DUTIES IN CAMP AND GARRISON.

I.

None that is appointed for the defence of any Breach, Trench, or Sconce, be he Captain or Souldier, shall willingly forsake the same, or by, or through any false-coloured occasion or excuse, absent himself from thence without sufficient Order or Warrant allowed by Council of War, upon pain of death.

II.

No man shall enter or go out of the Army but by ordinary ways, upon pain of death, nor go over any Trench, or kind of Circumvallation, or any Rampires about a Town or Garrison, upon pain of death, or being otherwise punished, as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

III.

No man shall presume to draw his Sword without order, after the Watch is set, upon pain of death, or such other punishment as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

IV.

No man shall give false Alarm, or discharge his piece in the night, or make any noise without lawful cause, upon pain of death, or such other punishment as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

V.

No man shall draw any Sword in a private quarrel within the Camp, upon pain of death, or such punishment as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

VI.

He that makes known the Watchword without order or gives another Word than what is given by the Officer, shall die for it, or be otherwise punished as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

VII.

Likewise any Officer that gives the Word to any person that he ought not to do without Order from him that Commands in Chief shall be punished as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

VIII.

Whosoever shall absent himself from the Court of Guard above two hours in the day time or any time in the night without leave, shall be punished with death, or as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

IX.

No man shall do violence to any that brings victuals to the Camp, upon pain of death, or to be punished as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

X.

None shall speak with the Drum, or Trumpet, or any other sent by the Enemy, without order, upon pain of death, or punishment at discretion.

XI.

Whatsoever Souldier shall either by day or night depart from the Centinelship where he hath been placed by his Corporal, unless he be relieved by the said Corporal, shall die without mercy.

XII.

A Centinel or Purdue found asleep, or drunk, or forsaking their place before they be drawn off, or that shall not upon discovery made give warning to his quarter, according to direction, shall die for the offence without mercy.

XIII.

No man shall fail wilfully to come to the Rendizvouse or Garrison appointed him by the Lord General upon pain of death, or such punishment as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

XIV.

None shall run from his quarter in a place besieged, call for composition, or speak thereof, be willing to fight, labour or defend their quarter, or make others unwilling thereunto, or do ought else in such a place, whereby the defence thereof may be hindered, upon pain of death without mercy.

XV.

No man that carries Armes, and pretends to be a Souldier, shall remain three daies in the Army without being inrolled in some Company or other, upon pain of death, or otherwise punished by discretion of a Court-Martial.

XVI.

No man that is Inrolled shall depart from the Army, or Garrison, or from his Colours without licence, upon pain of death.

XVII.

No private Souldier shall outstay his Pass upon pain of losing his pay, during the time of his absence.

XVIII.

He that absents himself when the sign is given to set the Watch, shall be punished at discretion, either by bread and water imprisonment, or with wooden horse.

XIX.

No Officer of what quality soever, shall go out of quarter, and lye out all night, without making his superior Officer acquainted, upon pain of cashiering.

XX.

All Officers, whose charge it is, shall see the quarters kept clean, and swept, upon pain of severe punishment.

XXI.

He that shall go out from his Colours or Garrison, further than a cannon-shot, without the Captain's leave, shall dye for it, or else be punished according to discretion.

XXII.

None shall presume to let their Horses feed in sown grounds whatsoever, or to endamage the husbandman any way, upon pain of severe punishment.

XXIII.

If two or more Officers or private Souldiers, in their quarters or elsewhere, shall quarrel, and proceed to blowes in hot blood, they shall both or all be committed immediately to the Marshal, and be afterwards punished according to the discretion of the Lord General, or a Court-Martial.

XXIV.

If any man imployed for a Guide upon the way, or a Spie upon the Enemy, shall be found false in the charge wherein he is intrusted, he shall die without mercy. Or if any man imployed for a Scout, shall not discover so far as he is commanded, or having discovered any approach of the Enemy, or Ambushment, shall not speedily return and give warning to his quarter according to direction, he shall be punished at the discretion of the Lord General, or Court-Martial. And in case it shall be proved he entered into any house, and there lay sleeping or drinking or otherwise idle, whilst he should have been upon service, he shall be punished as a Centinel or Purdue found asleep.

Whosoever shall in his quarter abuse, beat, or fright his landlord, or any person else in the family, or shall extort money or victuals by violence, shall be proceeded against as mutineers and enemies to Discipline, according to the discretion of a Court-Martial.

OF DUTIES IN ACTION.

I.

If a Pike-man throw away his Pike or a Musketeer his Musket or Bandoliers, he or they shall be punished with death, or as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

II.

No man shall burn any House or Barn, or spoil any Corn, Hay, or Straw, or Stacks in the field, or any Ship, Boats, Carriage, or any thing that may serve for Provision for the Army, without order, upon pain of death, or such punishment as a Court Martial shall think fit.

III.

None shall kill an enemy who yields and throws down his Armes.

IV.

None shall save a man that hath his Offensive Armes in his hands, upon pain of losing his Prisoner.

V.

No man shall Kill a man after quarter given upon pain of death.

VI.

Whosoever in Skirmish shall fling away his Powder out of his Bandoliers, that he may the sooner come off, shall be punished with death ; or if he complain he wants Powder or Bullet without acquainting his Officer privately with it, shall be punished as the Court-Martial shall think fit.

VII.

No Souldier shall Imbezle any part of the prey, till it be disposed of by his Excellency or others authorised, upon pain of death, or as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

VIII.

No Souldier, unless upon sickness or hurt, shall absent himself from the Guard, on pain of punishment, such as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

IX.

If any shall call for money as they are marching in the face of the enemy, or upon any enterprise, they shall die without mercy.

X.

No Officer or Souldier shall ransom or conceal a Prisoner, but within twelve hours shall make the same known to the Lord General, or others authorised, upon pain of death, or be punished as a Court-Martial shall think good.

XI.

He that first begins to fly in a battle, or upon an Assault, may lawfully be slain thereupon ; and if he escape, he shall be declared a Villain, and die without mercy.

XII.

No man upon Service shall fall on pillaging before the signe or licence be given, upon pain of death.

XIII.

If any man shall refuse or forbear to go upon any service commanded him by his superiour, for fear of danger, or other pretence, whatsoever, or shall in the time of fight retire before the Retreat sounded, or shall throw away his Arms and flie, shall die for it without mercy.

XIV.

A Regiment or party of horse or foot that chargeth the enemy, and retreats before they come to handy stroke, shall answer it before the Council of War ; and if the fault be found in the Officers they shall be banished the Camp, and have their swords broke over their heads, and if in the Souldier, every tenth man shall be punished at discretion and the rest serve for Pioneers and Scavengers till a worthy exploit take off that Blot.

XV.

He that in marching towards the field, or returning thence, shall forsake his Colours, shall die without mercy.

OF THE DUTIES OF OFFICERS AND COMMANDERS.

I.

All Commanders are straightly charged to see Almighty God reverently served, and Sermons and Prayers duly frequented.

II.

All Commanders and Officers that find any discontented humours apt to mutiny, or any swerving from direction given, or from the Policy of the Army

set down, shall straightway acquaint the Lord General, or others in Authority above themselves, on pain of being taken and reputed negligent in their Place and Office.

III.

Any Officer that shall presume to defraud any Souldier of his Pay, or part thereof, shall be cashiered and further punished at the Lord General's discretion.

IV.

No Officer whatsoever shall depart out of the place where their Company lie in Garrison or Quarter, whether it be to sollicite for the payment of their said Company, or about their own business, without leave from their Commander or Governor, upon pain of forfeiting a moneth's Pay for the first offence, and being cashiered for the second.

V.

No Captain shall seduce or entice away each other's Souldiers, on pain of Cashiering.

VI.

No Captain or other Officer shall receive or list any Disbanded Souldier, without special Licence from the General.

VII.

No Officer when he hath the Guard, shall be absent from the Guard, unless by reason of sickness or hurt, upon pain of losing his Place.

VIII.

No Captain shall permit his Company to be or remain in Quarters without one Commission Officer at least.

IX.

No Corporal or other Officer commanding the Watch, shall willingly suffer a private Souldier to go out to Duel, or private Fight, upon pain of death.

X.

What Officer soever shall come drunk to his Guard, or shall quarrel in the Quarter, committing disorder, shall be Cashiered without mercy.

XI.

A Captain that is careless in the Training of his Company, shall be displaced, as a man unworthy of that Office.

XII.

All Captains or Officers that shall outstay their Pass, shall be punished at the Lord General's discretion.

XIII.

All Officers of what condition soever shall have power to part quarrels and fraies, and sudden disorders amongst the Souldiers, though it be in any other Company or Regiment, and to commit the disorderer to Prison for the present, until such Officer as they belong to are acquainted with it. And what Souldier soever shall resist, disobey, or draw his sword against such an Officer, although he be no Officer of his Company or Regiment, shall be punished with death.

XIV.

After the Army is come to the General Rendezvouse, no Captain shall Cashier any Souldier that is Enrolled, without special Warrant from the Lord General, or a Court-Martial, on pain of being Cashiered.

XV.

If any one whosoever that is not thereunto Authorised by His Majesty, or the

Lord General, shall grant out any Commission of what nature soever, he shall be punished with death.

XVI.

No Captain or Officer of a Troop or Company shall present in his Muster any but real Troopers and Souldiers, such as by their Pay are bound to follow their Colours, upon pain of Cashiering without mercy. And if any Townsman, or Countreyman, Victualler, Freebooter, Enterloper, or Souldier whatever, of any other Troop or Company, shall present himself in the Muster to mislead the Muster-master, or to defraud His Majesty and betray the Service, the same shall be punished as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

XVII.

No Captain of a Troop or Company shall take into his Troop or Company any Inhabitant of the place where the Troop or Company is in Garrison, upon pain of severe punishment, unless it be done by and with the privity and consent of the General or Governor of the place.

XVIII.

Every Captain, with the help of his Officers, every time his Company goes to the Watch, shall oversee every man's Arms ; and where he finds anything broken, cause the owner thereof presently to mend them ; and for what shall be lost, the Souldier shall be committed to prison until he provide another, if it be not broken or lost in the Service ; and the Captain shall march in the head of his Company at the setting of every Watch.

XIX.

That the Captain weekly pay not his Company until he hath all his Company come to him in arms, and that he view the defect of Arms, and also default for the not present mending them.

XX.

No Providor, Keeper, or Officer of Victual or Ammunition, shall imbezle or spoil any part thereof, or give any false account to the Lord General, upon pain of death, or as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

Whatsoever Provant-Master, having received money from the King, or the Lord General, shall bring and furnish the Camp or any Garrison with unsound or unsavoury vituals, of any kinde, whereby sickness may grow amongst the Souldiers, or the service by that occasion be hindered, shall upon complaint be brought before the Court by the Provost-Martial, and shall be heard what he can say for his justification, wherein if he fail, he shall die for such his Offence, at the discretion of the Court-Martial.

OF THE DUTIES OF THE MUSTER-MASTER.

I.

No Muster-master shall willingly let pass in Muster any but such as are really of the Troop or Company presented, upon pain of forfeiting his place ; nor shall he receive any money from any by way of bribe, under the same penalty, and the Officer giving shall be cashiered.

II.

All Captains shall cause their Troops or Companies to be full and compleat, and at the General Mustering they shall deliver to the Muster-master Four perfect Lists or Rolls of all the Officers of the Troops or Companies, and likewise of all the Troopers and Souldiers that are in actual service, one of the which the

Muster-master shall keep for a Record, the other he shall give to the Lord General, and the third to the Treasurer of the Army; there shall also be a punctual expression at the bottom of the said Rolls what new Troopers or Souldiers have been entertained since the last Pay-day in Lieu of such as are deceased or cashiered, and likewise the day whereon they were so cashiered and entertained, and their surnames shall be written Alphabetically; three of the aforesaid Lists or Rolls shall be subscribed by two common Officers at the least, and the fourth subscribed by the Muster-master and delivered to the Captain, and whosoever shall be convicted of falshood in any of the premises shall be cashiered.

III.

No Muster-master shall presume to receive or accept of any Roll to make the Muster by, but the aforementioned Rolls, upon pain of loss of his place, and other punishment at discretion.

IV.

No Souldier shall pass muster that is unserviceable by want of his limbs, unless by special order from the Lord General, nor any person that is sick except he be seen by the Muster-master or have a sufficient attestation under the hand of the Physician or Chirurgeon.

V.

No private Souldier in perfect health is to be absent from the Muster, except employed in service, upon pain of losing his pay for that Muster; and every Officer that staires longer then his Pass, shall be respited till his appearance if he be absent two musters, not to be taken off but by order from the Lord General.

VI.

All Officers, or any other Commissioned, are to enter their Commissions with the Muster-master, upon pain of forfeiting such their Commissions; whosoever shall receive a Commission from any that is not Authorized by His Majesty or the Lord General, shall dye without mercy.

VII.

None under the degree of a General Officer shall be entered or mustered in a double capacity, upon pain of being cashiered.

VIII.

No man shall presume to present himself to the Muster, or to be enrolled in the Muster-roll by a counterfeit name, or surname, or place of birth, upon pain of death.

IX.

No man that is an inhabitant in a Garrison Town shall be Mustered but by Special Commission from the Lord General, upon pain of severe punishment to be inflicted on him.

OF VICTUALLERS.

I.

No Souldier shall be a Victualler or Sutler without the consent of the Lord General, or others Authorized, upon pain of punishment at discretion.

II.

None shall out of the Camp or Garrison forcibly take, or else buy up beforehand, any victuals or goods bound thitherward, before they be brought to a fit place of sale; neither shall he rob any Cabin, Shop, Tent, or Victualler, or Merchant that is there for the help of the Camp or Garrison, on pain of death.

III.

No Victualler or Sutler shall presume to sell or issue to any of the Army or Garrison, unsavoury or unwholesome Victuals, upon pain of imprisonment, and further arbitrary punishment.

IV.

No Victualler or Sutler shall entertain in his House, Tent, or Hut, any Souldier after the Warning-piece at night, or before the beating of the Ravelle in the morning, upon pain of being mulcted at the discretion of the Lord General.

V.

All Victuallers, Sutlers, or Tavern-Keepers, shall be subject to the aforesaid Articles, and the Council of War, on the penalties herein contained, and shall not draw Wine nor Beer in the evening after, or in the morning before, such an hour as the General or Commander-in-Chief shall appoint and publish, on pain of being punished at discretion.

VI.

No Victualler, Sutler, or Tavern-Keeper, shall admit into his House, Tavern or Hut, any Souldier whatsoever, during the time that Divine Service is performing, neither shall he, during that time, sell any meat, draw any beer or wine, on pain of being mulcted at the General or Governour's pleasure, the mulct to go one half to the Informer, and the other amongst the lame and sick Souldiers.

OF ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

I.

All controversies between the Souldiers and their Captains, and all others, shall be summarily heard and determined by the next Council or Court of War, except the weightiness of the case require further deliberation.

II.

No Marshal-General shall refuse to keep a Prisoner by Authority committed to his charge, nor dismiss him being once received, upon pain of being liable to the same punishment which should have been inflicted on the party dismissed.

III.

All Officers and others who shall send any prisoner to the Marshal-General of the Army, shall likewise deliver unto the Marshal within four and twenty hours the cause and reason of the Imprisonment, and without such cause and reason shown, the Marshal is expresly forbid to take charge of the Prisoner.

IV.

When a Prisoner is committed to the charge of the Marshal-General, the information of the crime which he standeth committed for is to be delivered to the Advocate of the Army within forty-eight hours after the commitment, or else for default thereof, the Prisoner to be released, except good cause be shewen wherefore the information cannot be ready in that time.

V.

The Marshal having notice that information is put in against the Prisoner, if he be not brought to his Tryal within three days compleat, shall acquaint the Advocate, or the chief Commander of the place therewith, and if he receive no command to the contrary, shall forthwith let go his Prisoner.

VI.

The goods of such as die in the Army or Garrison, or be slain in the Service, if they make any Will by word or writing, shall be disposed of according to their Will; if they make no Will, then they shall go to the wife, or next kindred; If no wife or kindred appear within a year after, they shall be disposed of by the appointment of the Lord General, according to Laws Civil and Military.

VII.

No man shall presume to use any braving or menacing words, signs, or gestures, while the Court of Justice is sitting, upon pain of death, or as the Court shall judge fit.

VIII.

No inhabitant of the City or Countrey shall presume to receive any Souldier into his service, or conceal, or use means to convey such run-aways, but shall apprehend all such, and deliver them to the Marshal-General.

IX.

All Captains, Officers and Souldiers, shall do their endeavours to detect, and apprehend, and bring to punishment all offenders, and shall assist the Officers of the Army to that purpose, as they will answer their slackness to the Lord General or a Court-Martial.

Every man shall be bound to be aiding and assisting to the Marshal in the execution of his Office, being thereunto required in His Majesties or the Lord General's name, upon pain of Arbitrary punishment rigorously to be inflicted: And in case it be declared by the said Marshal, the cause concerns Treason, or other Capital Offence, and the party Arrested and Committed, or to be Arrested and kept by him, shall for want of such aid and assistance escape and get away, then he or they refusing or forbearing to aid and assist them shall die for it, or be punished as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

If the Marshal dismiss without authority any person committed to his charge, or suffer him to make an escape, he shall be liable to the same punishment due to the dismissed or escaped offender.

All other faults, disorders and offences not mentioned in these Articles, shall be punished according to the general Custom and Laws of War.

Pretence of not being present at the publishing of these Articles, shall not be excuse to any.

But to the end these Laws and Orders be made more public and known, as well to the Souldier as Officer, every Colonel and Captain is to provide Copies, and cause them forthwith to be distinctly and audibly read. The Colonels and Captains are likewise required to see them published at the head of every Company every muster.

APPENDIX D.

ARTICLES OF PEACE CONCLUDED AND CONFIRMED BY HIS EXCELLENCY, JOHN LORD BELASYSE, BARON OF WORLABY, CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF ALL THE FORCES BELONGING TO HIS MAJESTY OF GREAT BRITAIN IN AFFRICA, VIZ., ADMIRAL OF HIS ROYAL NAVY ON THE COAST OF BARBARY, AND GOVERNOR OF THE CITY OF TANGIER, &c., ON THE BEHALF OF HIS SACRED MAJESTY, CHARLES THE SECOND, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, &c., WITH THE MOST EXCELLENT CIDI HAMET HADER BEN ALI GAYLAND, PRINCE OF WEST BARBARY, ARZILLA, ALCASSAR, TITUAN, SALT, &c., AND IN ALL HIS DOMINIONS, FROM THIS DAY IN WHICH IT IS MADE. DATED THE SECOND OF APRIL, 1666.

I.

THAT from this day, and for ever, there shall be a firm and true peace, and no satisfaction shall be demanded by either party, for any former injury, which hath been done to either party before this day.

II.

It is agreed by both parties, that they of Tangier shall have all that field that doth begin from the Jews River, running as the line is marked out, unto the River Ticeros of Old Tangier ; in which line they may sowe what they please, but may not plant trees nor vines, nor make any fortifications nor trenches, nor anything like unto it great or small.

III.

That in case they of Tangier shall want wood, and his Excellency the General giving advice thereof unto his Excellency Cidi Hader Gayland, he shall be obliged to provide Guards whilst they are cutting and carrying the said wood into Tangier ; and his Excellency the General of Tangier shall be obliged to pay the said Guards for their assistance.

IV.

That all boats and vessels of both parties may enter and go forth, trade, and commerce in the ports of either parties, and go in and out as they please without any pass.

V.

That at whatsoever time his Excellency the General of Tangier shall have occasion for any kinde of refreshment, cows, sheep, hens, &c., advising his Excellency Cidi Hader Gayland, or whomsoever shall govern in his place, he shall provide the same, his Excellency the General of Tangier paying the accustomed rates and prizes of the same, together with the charge of conducting them to Tangier.

VI.

That after the day of the date of this agreement, there shall be no new fortifications built without the lines, understanding thereby that this shall not obstruct the repairing of such fortifications as are already built, nor the finishing such as are begun ; nor maintaining and keeping the line as now it is.

VII.

Whatsoever person shall flee from either party to the other, having committed thefts, or other misdemeanours, they shall be apprehended, secured, and delivered over to be punished according to their deserts ; and in case they have stolen anything, it shall be restored to the proprietors.

VIII.

That whensoever any cafles shall come to the city of Tangier, exceeding the number of ten horses, they shall wait at the place appointed, whilst they shall enter the city but ten at one time, and unlading their burthens and goods, they shall go forth of the city again. And that none shall enter into the said city with any arms except they be gentlemen. And if any person shall offend or affront any one of the contrary party, they shall be punished according to the laws and merits of the facts.

IX.

It is agreed on the behalf of the Excellent Cidi Hamet Hader Gayland, that the boats of Tangier shall fetch stones for the use of the Mold, whersoever they please, from Cape Spartel unto the easternmost point of the Bay of Tangier.

X.

That his Excellency Cidi Hader Gayland shall be obliged to assist the city of Tangier, with all his forces against any Christian enemy that shall offer to land or attack the same.

XI.

And for as much as His Majesty of Great Britain hath been graciously pleased to accept of the amity and good will of his Excellency Cidi Hamet Hader Gayland, and doth esteem the grant of the field above-mentioned ; He doth therefore grant unto his said Excellency Cidi Hader Gayland, two hundred barrels of fine powder, in manner and form following (viz.) : fifty barrels to be delivered upon the signing of these articles ; and fifty barrels at the end of three months ; and so at the end of every three months fifty barrels of powder, so long as the peace shall last.

XII.

And for as much as there are many Strangers' Boats which go and come to the City of Tangier, in which, for the most part, Englishmen are interested, it is agreed, That no Boat coming to, or going from, Tangier shall be seised or made Prize by any of the Boats of the Subjects of the said Cidi Hader Gayland, being within the Point called in the Spanish Fehod Seje ; and by the English the Point on this side Jews River ; and the Point that makes the Bay of Tangier, towards the Levant, called in Arabick Taefe Almanæ.

XIII.

It is agreed, on the behalf of his Excellency the General of Tangier, that in case his Excellency Cidi Hader Gayland shall have occasion of the assistance of any of the Ships belonging to the English Nation against his Enemies, they not being in Amity with England, the said Ships being in the Bay of Tangier shall assist him in all they can ; but in case it shall so happen that the said Enemies

of Cidi Hader Gayland shall be in Amity with England, then the said Ships, nor any of the English Nation, shall not be obliged to assist the said Cidi Hader Gayland, either by Land or Sea.

XIV.

That all Merchants, Subjects to the said Cidi Hader Gayland, shall have equal Justice in recovering their Debts, and that this shall be so understood of both parties on either side.

All these Articles confirmed and adjusted by both parties in Tangier, the 2nd of April, 1666.

These Articles of Peace have greater advantages attending them for the future security and improvement of Tangier than those concluded by the Earl of Teviot, in these particulars following :—

First. This Peace is perpetual, his for Six Months only.

Secondly. We are to have assistance from his Forces against all Christian Enemies who shall attempt anything upon Tangier.

Thirdly. We are to have all Provisions out of his Countreyes, Woods, &c.

Fourthly. We have no guards imposed on us by Gayland, what was a great incumbrance to the Garrison, and for which my Lord Tiviot pay'd £500 per annum to maintain the said guard.

Fifthly. We have Stones for the carrying on the Mole ; We pay the same quantity of Powder annually, as my Lord Tiviot did ; and have ground granted without our Line of double value.

Sixthly. All Strangers' Ships or Boats who repair to Tangier are to be protected from the Moors' Boats within three Leagues' distance from the City.

APPENDIX E.

LORD DARTMOUTH'S LETTER AND LIST OF PAPERS, &c., SENT HOME BY DR. TRUMBALL, 19TH OCTOBER, 1683.

S^R

I have given you as frequent accounts, by severall ships since my arrivall heere, as I could conveniently, and I acquainted you how I found matters at my first coming, espetially with the Moores, but immediately after my being declared Gov^r and that y^e Alcade was acquainted with it, he sent severall of his cheife Officers to assure me of his intentions of Peace and good will to Tangeire, and that all misunderstandings that seemed to be differences between him and the former Governor were on their owne accounts only, and that he hoped all were now ceased, and that he desired and would be a friende to Tangeire for the future. I thought it most for his Maj^{ty}s service to keepe as good and fayre correspondency with him as I could, and as long as I can at this juncture, and therefore did not only receive his, but returne all his compliments as civilly as I could contrive it; in a little time he pressed for a personall interview, which I agreed to, being willing to see, as much as I could, what his force was, and what sort of neighbor or enemye I was likely to deale with (as either should or may fall out). The forces he brought with him were not so many as was reported, though to the full number of horse as was talked of, besides a party beyond the Hills towards Charles Forte (as I was that day afterwards informed) wheather out of jealousy of us, or with any intention upon us, if theye had found it convenient, I know not; but having the opportunity of clothing a good company of the seamen in red cloaths that came for the Scotch and Trelanyes Regiments, I drew out in order upwards of 4,000 men, besides strong guards and the Burgers left in the Towne. I kept Pole Fort on my write hand, and the whole body stood under covert of that, Browne George, the Irish Battery, and the Seamen's lodgement where seven small field peeeces were planted towards the Sandhills, and a battalion of Trelanyes Regiment and the guners were drawne up and posted with them. The left of the Garrison forces reaching to Fountaine Forte and there the Seamen, to upward of a thousand, were drawne from thence all along the sands by the sea side, and the Gaurd botes and the rest of y^e boates of the whole fleete comanded by Captain Eylmour flanked beyond the seamen close in with the shore. At y^e utmost extent of y^e seamen cross the sand I stood with my friends that came wth me, Lord Bartly (who comanded y^e volunteires) and most of the Horse, where the Alcade met me drawne up verry orderly, and to the best advantage of ground, according to their way of dissipline theye made as much shew as they could, but there foote were inconsiderable, though their horse seemed formidable enough according to their

manner. After many compliments from the Alcade (which they are much used to) and civillities past on both sides, I desired him and Coll. Kircke to shake hands before both parties and all differences were promised to be forgot, but the trueth was, the Alcade was willing enough to be friendes, for with all the kinde wordes which passed he did not at all like our countenances, for I beleieve he never saw so formidable a force togeather, since his Majty had Tangiere; the force I have menconed, the Towne Walls well lyned, and all the fleete being in his eye togeather, and by that time he drew off, and sent Abdela with a party upon the Sandhills, Coll. Kircke's two Batalions were marched as farr as the spurr at Peeterburrow Town, and the whole body being in mocon, begirt the whole Towne round with souldyers (towards them) that we seemed more than what we really were. Sr I thought this appearance more to the purpose then entering into cavillings with them, and it hath succeeded as I desired, for theye have lived extreemly well with us ever since, as Dr. Trumball will enforme you. But by a letter sent me by the Alcade (a copy whereof I have sent you) either from the Emperor or pretended from him) I know not how long he intends to continue his correspondency with me, though it is now too late for him to give me any great hindrance; my opinion is, that since he saw my strength and more ships dayly come to me, he does not venture, and hath beene gaining time to get more forces which dayly come to him, the gaining of time being both our aimes; I doe not doubt success on my parte, for my out mines are now almost fitted, and the out fortes ready to be quitted, all the fourmors round the Towne in very good forwardness, as is the workes at the Mole, which wilbe effectually done, before I sturr, and I doe not doubt but it wilbe impossible for this island ever to be made a harbor heerafter at least for more then small fishermen; much of the stores are already carryed off and most of the guns that are not yet absolutely necessary, one of the hospitall ships is gone well loaded, and the inhabitants are dayly shipping off themselves and effects, so that I hope in a very reasonable time to give his Majty a good account, though by the particulars and account that Dr. Trumball will give you you will finde more time wilbe taken up, and that I have met many more difficultyes heere, then needed have beene, or could reasonably have beene expected; I have beene under great care to provide victuals not only for the ships I brought with me but for all that have either come after me, or come from these partes to me; the Provicions for the Garrison not yet arived as promassed; and I hope I give no offence in saying this trueth that the care of his Majty's service heere seemed almost as much abandoned before my coming, as I am now ordered to leave it; Sr I found the minde's of the inhabitants here so allarumed and perplexed with the uncertaintyes of severall reportes, that I did at first doe what I could to compose them; and thought it best by degrees to open the truth to them; nor was there any necessity of striking them at once with the blow of destruction of all their habitations, but by giving out the severall com^s of enquires wch you have heere sent you, I imployed the minds of the cheife of the whole Citty, which enquiryes by their owne returnes, made all reasonable that his Majty had before thought fitt to comand, even to their owne judgments and confessions; and no time was lost in the interime in landing and distributing all the Stores properly; in setting up as many smith's forges as were necessary for making and repairing all manor of tooles, which requires great number, and great care to keepe neere a thousand men day and night at worke; all being little enough to make, dispatch, and

performe his Majty^s service, as it ought to be, but that God hath extreamly assisted us with weather, far beyound what we could have hoped for hitherto at this season of the yeare ; and I hope he will continue it so to the end ; Dr. Trumball is furnished with a draft, or scetch (rather) of the towne wherein his Majty will see all the mines we are carying on, which are no easy workes for great parte of y^e Towne and all the Castle is a verry thick, strong, old wall at Bottom, founded upon a Rocke, and I must do Mr. Sheires that justice (though I am sorry to find it so now, and to have the difficulty of y^e worke) to testifye that no rocke can be harder or stronger than the greatest part of his end of the Mole, though the former parte is but rubish, and will easily be dispersed when the water breakes made by him to secure it are gone ; which are already by his meanes in a fayre way of being destroyed ; I mencon this the rather to show his service to the King, that will in this aige, upon his Majty^s comand, so readally lend a hand towards the destruction of his owne building, or, as I may compare it, to a childe of his owne begetting ; but I doe assure you this is justly due to him : and I am the rather bound to it, for that without his hearty assistance I should not only have found the taske much more then was thought of, but extreamly much more difficult then even now it is. The Adress, I have sent a Coppy of from the Mayor and Corporation, will show the world theire resentment at parting from hence, and in the manor his Majty hath comanded it ; I thincke they are as ready, and as much joyed at parting from hence, and theire prison heere, as the souldyers themselves are. The Address from the Officers may likewise be of good use (as in the temper I left you) the surveye made by the Cheife Officers, surveyors, and Ingeneires, will show the extravagant charge of making this place strong, if it were to purpose, and let the examinacon of the perticulers be never so much scanned by such as understand it, the Towne is not to be rendered safe upon less termes ; for it is not made a calculation for this purpose, but what ought to be done, if there were mony to be found, and the place resolved to be kep'd ; but the account sent you of the surveye of y^e Mole and Harbor by the Seamen planly shewes the incapableness of this place being made a good Porte, if all that charge were throwne away, and that extravagant addicon that must be added to it of finishing the Mole and Counter-Mole, if it were all to be done ; the Address and acknowledgment of y^e Portugues to his Majty, I hope will in some measure satisfie her Majty (if it be possible) ; besides the fathers of y^e Church here have write a letter to her Majty as theye tell me, in behalfe of Dr. Penn and I ; so that we are yet both in hopes of not being throwne quite out of her Majty^s favour. To-morrow the *Centurian* sayles to Lisbone, with all the Portugueses, and I hope to have two ships more dispatched wth the Mayor and Alderman theire wives and y^e Corporation, by the beginning of the next weeke at farthest ; severall desire to goe to Marseillies and Lewgorne, which shall likewise be as soone dispatch'd as is possible. Sr the Garrison I designe to distribute into severall ships to be transported thus, if his Majty please to approve of it. Coll. Keircke's first Batallion with himselfe to Pendenis ; though they are called Batallians heere the men will not be more yⁿ is necessary (in one of them) for that place, and being of y^e old Regiment theye have beene all used to worke, and be the fittest men for carrying on the workes there, if his Majty still continues his Resolucon of fitting it for his service ; Coll. Trelanye's first Batalian I intend for Plymouth, he being that countryman, and able to recruite them there, without farther charge to his Majty either for service in y^t Cittadell or to march them

afterwards wherever his Majty may have more service for them, the two Battallians of my L^d Dunbarton's Regiment shal be sent to Portsmouth and Gosporte, where theye may be united, and will agree best togeather, and be with Harrye Slingsbye, who will use them kindly and live well with them ; I neede not tell you how old a chore, and how servisable men and officers these are, and therefore I choose them for Portchmouth, where theye are not too farr out of his Majty's call, if ever he should have occasion in earnest for them ; the Granadiers of all the Regiments I bring home with me, as being the chose men out of each body, and humbly offer y^t theye may be sent to y^e Towre where they will be most servisable, and where there is least neede of pikes ; the Battallian of Guards that are heere are extraordinary men, and will make the best body of Granadiers (though theye are but few in number) to be kep'd togeather and added to ye two Regiments of Guards, if his Majty please to continue them ; but if once they are broke into the other companyes, it will not be easy to raise or unite so propper men togeather for that service. The youngest Battallian of ye Garrison Old Regiment will be able to supplye the remainder wanting to ye Towre, Tilbery, Sheerness, and Langerd forte, that his Majty's gaurds may be all at liberty to attend his Royall person only ; among these I earnestly desire Captain Gyles may be appoynted for Tilbery, for I have shipped of as much tarras in severall ships from hence (of his Majty's remaining stores heere for the Mole) as will be sufficient to finish that fortification ; and all the stores (w^{ch} are heere considerable) shalbe partly shipped for Portchmouth and partly for Tilbury, so that the water bastion in y^e river shalbe carryed on for very litle charge more then stone and workmanship ; this Capt. Gyles was foreman to Mr. Sheeres in carrying on the Mole, which makes me desier him at Tilbery for carrying on that worke, which lyes now unfinished, and reproachfully in the eyes of all strainers that pass up the river ; the other Battallian of Trelany's Regiment is comanded by Majr Tiffeny, a Northerne man, and that Battallion was partly raised in y^e North for my L^d Plymouth, so that I propose five Companyes of them to goe to Barwicke, and the other three to Tinmouthe, which, though the Castle be not what it should be, yet it comands the trade of Newcastle, and therefore ought not to be neglected ; thus I have ventured (as you will say) to shoote my fooles bolt, but where 'tis an over-erring zeale on y^e right side, I hope it may be forgiven. Pray, Sr, if these measures are approved of, let care be taken at these places (or at least so many as are approved of) against their arivall, for it will be a new charge to transporte them heereafter to and fro, if it should be thought necessarye. How the Company of Minors, the Trainee and Staff Officers, wilbe provided for I doe not know ; but care must be taken for them, or be p^d specially off, though theye be a great deale of monye due to them ; but I cannot advice them to be kep'd up unnecessarily, or added to y^e office of y^e Ordnance, though by his Majty's favor it be my own office : the Horse officers have given me so reasonable arguments for altering the instruction of sending their horses to be sould in Spaine, that I cannot reasonably refuse them sending them home ; esppecially when I thinke most of these horses will bye two or three Dragoon horses a peece when they come into England, and that the officers heere mount and keepe their horses themselves for the Troopers ; insomuch that it would be ruining the officers to doe otherwayes then bring their horses ; esppecially, finding the charge wilbe inconsiderably more to his Majty, and the trouble and time the same, in shipping them for England, as Cadiz. Sr, in this distribution of these men it may be thought that I have forgot to provide for Hull, but that towne will neede

no Garrison, when the citadel is built, and the Garrison now in the towne wilbe fully sufficient for the cittadell, which will be much more considerable to his Majty then ever the towne was, and I hope to finish it in a little time, if his Majty wilbe pleased to take the offall woode of Sherwood Forrest for his owne use, and not let it be begged from him, which hath beene my feares this two or three yeare; though I may say, I have kep'd that woode out of the fire hitherto; I was ordered by one of my instructions to be very strickt musters heere, w^{ch} I did as stricktly direct the Comissary as I could, a copy whereof is sent you, but found that the stricktness of bringing them to their duty, and by the help of the Towne Major and overseers of the workemen, I came much short of that number and could not yet come right, till I had it from the Cap^{ts} themselves, upon their hon^{rs}, and I am confident the last account of the three sent you is at least verry neere, if not the true number, to a man; but I hope his Majty wilbe so gracious to the officers as not to let so great severity be used to them, for better officers cannot be brought to y^e head of men, most having seene a great deale of service, and this place hath not beene sued so much for friends, as beene the propper refuge for those that truly are souldyers, who have sought their bred where finer gentlemen would not voutsafe to come. Sr, pray lay this before his Majty, for it is a justice I owe them considering the worth of y^e men, the smalnes of their pay, the dearnes of the place, the great arrears that are due to them, and that upon their arrivall in England they may be made to fill up their numbers and recruite without charge to his Majty. I know there may be some hard heartes in this case, but I cannot thinke it will turne much to his Majty's service; but, on the contrary, may render these gentlemen not so capable of serving if they are to severely delt with. I must begg you farther to intercede for his Majty's mercy for an officer, extreemly well spoke of heere; it is Cornet Pownell, who hath and doth, and will serve his Majty well; but upon his return home may fall unfortunately under prosecution, for having killed a man formerly in my L^d of Oxforde's Regiment. Everybody heere that knowes the matter, give him a verry faire and hon^{ble} charracter, and I believe my L^d of Oxforde can give his Majtye an account of it, and since he hath the hon^r of his Majty's com., and served so well, I hope he will deserve better then be called home to an unfortunate endd. Doctor Trumball is best able to give you an account of all the proprieties and interests of the inhabitants heere; having served his Majty in that Comⁿ you know how frankly he left all his owne concernes, and what loss it must needes be to him by his coming heither; but I heartally wish he were more in his Majty's business; for though he be particularly y^r and my frend, yet I thinke we may with modesty say that neither an honest or abler man can come into his Maty's service, and this verry voyage demonstrates his willingness to it, and it is no small parte of our duty to bring such a man into our master's service; but you are a better judge, and in y^{rs} he is in to good hands for me to pretend to give any addition to his just recomendacon; and after all this trouble 'tis well if I can begg pardon from you for my selfe, but I know y^r goodnes is such that you can beare and forgive the troubles of y^r friends, among whom I hope you will ever esteeme me, and share some parte of that goodness to, Sr,

Y^r most faithfull,

Humble and obedient Servant,

DARTMOUTH.

Tangier, October 19th, 1683.

Sr.—I have farther to recomend to you the Townes Peoples Peticon that have already pd his Maj^{ty}s customes heere, for it seemes to me a little unreasonable that theye should paye double duty upon this occasion.

Endorsed—"Tanger, 19th Octob., 1683.

Rd 10th Novemb., by Dr. Trumball.

Lord Dartmouth.

No. 1."

AN ACCOMPT OF THE DISPATCH SENT TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE MR. SECRETARY JENKINS BY DR. TRUMBALL, THE 19TH OCTOBER, 1683.*

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| Copy of
the L ^d
Dartmo ^s
Dispatch
to Mr.
Fanshaw. | { | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Lord Dartmouth's Letter to Mr. Secretary. 2. His Lop^s Speech to the Inhabitants of Tanger. 3. The Adresse of the Mayor, &c., to His Matie. 4. The Adresse of the Officers, &c., to His Matie. 5. The Representation of the Fathers of the Portuguez Church to His Matie, wth the Translation in English. 6. Their Letter to the Queen. 7. The Lord Dartmouth's Letter to Mr. Fanshaw. 8. The Comm^{rs} for Stateing Proprieties Letter to y^e Portuguez Fathers. 9. The Portuguez Father's answer to y^e said Letter. 10. An Accompt stated of their Proprieties at Tanger. 11. The Lord Dartmouth's Letter to the said Portugueze Fathers. 12. The Survey of the Fortifications, &c. 13. The Survey of the Mole and Harbour by the Sea Captains with the Lord Dartmouth's Warrant. 14. The Alcayde's Letter to the Lord Dartmouth. 15. The King of Morocco's pretended L^r to the Alcayde. 16. Lord Dartmouth's Letter to the Alcayde. 17. Abstract of the Musters the 1st of October, '83. 18. 3 Abstracts of the Private Souldiers of this Garrison. 19. The Lord Dartmouth's Letter to the Lord Arrundell, &c. 20. The Lord Dartmouth's Letter to Mr. Eccles. 21. Extract of the Summe totall of the Proprieties in Tanger. 22. The Horse Officers Representation aboute y^e Transportation of their Horses. (Sic.) 23. Mr. Pownall's Petition to His Matie [?]. 24. The Humble Petⁿ of the Merchants and other Inhabitants of Tanger to His Matie 25. Captain Tuckyn Letter from y^e Downs, 10 Nov., 83. 26. L^d Dartmouth's Letter from Tanger, 3 Oct., 83. Dr. Pierse. 27. List of Passengers on board y^e <i>Unity</i>. 28. L^d Dartmouth's Letter, 17 Oct., 83. 29. Two Plans of Tanger. |
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Endorsed—

"An Accompt of the Severall Papers sent in the Dispatch to the Right Hon^{ble} Mr. Secretary Jenkins by Dr. Trumball.

"Deld to y^e Treary 12 Nov."

* Tangiers, 1683, July-Dec. No. 40.

APPENDIX F.

A SURVEY OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE FORTIFICATIONS
ATT TANGER, WITH AN ESTIMATE OF THE CHARGE OF FORTIFYING
THE SAME, &c., TAKEN BY DIRECTION AND COMMISSION OF HIS EXCEL-
LENCY, GEORGE, LORD BARON OF DARTMOUTH, &c. 2ND OCTOBER, 1683.

*George Lord Baron of Dartmouth One of the Lords of his Ma^{ty} most honble Privy
Councell, Master Generall of his Ma^{ty} Ordnance & Armouries, Admirall and
Comand^r in Cheife of his Fleet for this Expedition, and Captⁿ Gen^l Gov^r &
Comander in Cheife of his Ma^{ty} City & Garrison of Tanger.*

Whereas his Ma^{ty} hath been Graciously pleased by his L^{res} Patente under the Great Seale of England, Bearing date the Second day of July last past, to appoint me to be Admirall and Comand^r in Cheife of his Fleet to be Employ'd in this Expedicon, and also Capⁿ Gen^l, Gov^r and Comand^r in Cheife of his City and Garrison of Tang^r and the Territoryes thereunto belonging. And whereas It is his Pleasure that a Survey be made of the p'sent state of the Fortifications of and abot the Walls and Works of this Towne and Castle (speciall Regard being had to the sundry Defects and Ruinous parts of the said Fortifications). And likewise of the Ground and severall Heights and Eminencies Comanding and Looking into this Towne and Castle, and the Remedyes that are needfull to prevent the Damage that may be done from the said Eminincyes; And that speciall care be had in the Exact Survey of the severall Aquaducts and Watercourses, Enquireing into the Causes of the p'sent distresse of the Garrison through want of water. I therefore out of speciall Trust and Confidence Reposed in you have thought fitt, And by these presents doe constitute and appoint you Henry Shere, Esq^r as Surveyor, Gen^l of his Ma^{ty} Mole and Fortifications, Coll. Charles Trelawny, Lieuten Coll. Boynton, Major Martin Beckman, Captⁿ John Giles, Mr Ewald Tessin, and Mr Thomas Philipps Comission^{rs}. And you are hereby required wth all convent^t Speed to Survey the p'sent State of the Fortifications of & abot the Walls and Works of this City and Castle, having speciall Regard to the Sundry Defects and Ruinous parts of y^e said Fortificac^{ns}. And likewise to take a Survey of the Ground and the severall heights and Eminencies Comanding and looking into this City and Castle, And such Remedyes as shalbe in yo^r Judgment proper and needfull to prevent Damage from the said Eminences: And you are further to take into yo^r speciall care an exact survey of the severall Aquaducts and Watercourses, Enquireing into the cause of the present distresse of ye Garrison through want of water, Giveing me a full acct of all the aforesaid Matters in Writing by way of Certificate to be laid before his Ma^{ty} with an Estimate of the Charge of the Repaires and Remedyes of every particular. And you are further

Required to make Report to me from time to time of what you shall have done in the prmisses, And for what you shall Act in pursuance of this Comission. This shall to you and every of you be a sufficient Warr^t. Given att Tangr the 19th day of September, in the 35th yeare of his Ma^{ties} Reigne, And in the yeare of our Lord 1683.

DARTMOUTH.

By his Exe^{cys} Comand,
SAM. DE PAZ.

Tanger, y^e 19th Septemb., 1683.

Pursuant to the aforegoing Comission An exact Survey was forthwth Taken of the Present State of the Fortifications of and about the Walls and Workes of this Towne and Castle, The Defects whereof, and an Estimate of each particular Repaire, being as followeth, viz. :—

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|--|-------|----|----|---|----|----|
| The Defects of the way of the Rounds about the Towne and Castle were first taken into consideracon, which is so very narrow and Ruinous in most Places, as to be scarce Passable by Night without the hazard of men's Lives. The Repaire and Enlarging whereof from the Forageing Port to Stainer's Battery, And from thence towards Yorke Castle (containing in Length abo ^t 1,000 fo ^t), will require an Inside Wall of 3 fo ^t thick, from 12 to 18 fo ^t high, to be built with Stone and Lyme and Sand Mortar, which Line of Walling am ^{ts} to abo ^t 165½ Rodd Square att 9 ^l the Rodd | 1,489 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| For filling up between the Wall, abo ^t 500 Floores at 5s. per Floore | 125 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The like Defect to be Repaired from Johnson's Battery up to Peterborow Tower cont ^g abo ^t 600 fo ^t in Length, which, with filling up and the addicon of a Footbanck, &c., am ^{ts} to at 24 ^l 10 ^s p Running Rodd | 882 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| From Johnson's Battery towards Cathar ^s Port, 400 fo ^t in Length, the Way of the Rounds must likewise be Enlarged, wch with Walling, filling, &c, att the same Rate of 24 ^l 10 ^s p Running Rodd, amounts to | 594 | 2 | 6 | | | |
| From the Irish Battery downe to the Devill's Tower being 900 fo ^t in Length, the Rampar is likewise to be Enlarged, and the work p ^r formed as above att the same Rate of 24 ^l 10 ^s p Run ^g Rodd wch am ^{ts} to | 1,308 | 5 | 0 | | | |
| The Southeast Angle of the Towne, known by the name of the Devill's Tower, is the most Ruinous of any part about the Works, being Crack'd from Top to bottome and ready to fall | | | | | | |

x 2

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|--|-------------------|----|----|---|----|----|
| in sundry Places, and not admitting of an effectuall Repaire but by takeing it quite downe to the Foundation. The Pulling downe whereof, and clearing the same soe Low as to give it a solid and safe Standing, amounts by estimacon to | 470 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The charge of Laying the Foundacon w th Oake Timber and Planke, amounting to abot 18 Run ^s Rodd at 15 ^l p Rodd | 270 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| To Face the Outside of the Wall w th good Ashler set in Tarras 10 fo ^t high and 300 foot in Length at 2 ^s p foot is | 300 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| To build a Wall of 10 fo ^t thick at y ^e bottome, and 25 fo ^t in height, 8 fo ^t thick att the Top, and abot 300 fo ^t in Length. The outside to be wrought in Tarras, there being in all 297 Rod Solid, is at 9 ^l the Rod | 2,673 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For makeing the Inside Wall of the Rampar to be 4 fo ^t thick, 25 fo ^t high, and 300 fo ^t in length, containing 114 $\frac{1}{2}$ Solid Rodd at 9 ^l per Rodd is | 1,083 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For Filling up between the Wall with Earth containing 259 $\frac{1}{2}$ Floores at 6 ^s p Floore is | 87 | 17 | 0 | | | |
| For makeing a good Platforme with Stone 18 fo ^t broad, containing abot 54 square at 7 ^l 10 ^s p square is | 405 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For Repaireing the several Guards being defective and Leaky | 150 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For Repaireing and makeing new the Centinell boxes abot the Walls of the Towne and Castle | 45 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For Repaireing and makeing good the several Defects and Breaches in and abot y ^e Walls and Rampars of the Towne and Castle | 325 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For Repairing the Defects of the Draw Bridge at Catharina Port, makeing new and Repairing the Gates and Sally Ports of y ^e Towne and Castle | 550 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For Pointing with Lime and Sand Mortar the walls of the Towne and Castle both within and without | 2,000 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The Compleat Charge of these Repaires amot ^s to the sume of | ————— 12,757 14 6 | | | | | |

Haveing according to our best judgm^{ts} made an Estimate of the Repaires of the works in and about the Towne and Castle as they now stand, wee proceed to make our observacons and calculacons on what is necessary to be imediately gone in hand with for the better

| | Fortifying and Defending the said workes, | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---------------------|--|---|----|----|--------|----|----|
| | viz :— | | | | | | |
| | The wall and workes of the Upper Castle abot
Peterborow Tower is of itselfe in pretty good
Repaire, but without any Figure of defence
wee hold it therefore necessary That it be
Fortified with one whole Bastion and a halfe
Bastion. | | | | | | |
| | Johnson's Battery is a very Low part of the
wall, and comanded by the ground round
about it where it wilbe necessary to have a
detacht Bastion, as likewise at Catharina Port
to Cover and Secure the said Port from a
Surprize being the principall Port of the
Towne out of w ^{ch} all the out-Guard are
usually relieved. | | | | | | |
| Fig.
a. a. | Att the Irish Battery likewise there must be a
whole Bastion with Ravelines to cover y ^e
Wall between the said Bastions round about
as is expressed in the Draught.
The Devill's Tower must likewise be Forty'd
with a halfe Bastion and other workes as is
laide downe in the Draught that is to accom-
pany this Survey.
The whole and halfe Bastion at Peterborow
Tower being both one and the same Profile
contain 57 Running Rodd which att 575 ^l
p Running Rodd is | | | | 32,775 | 0 | 0 |
| | In this worke are Five Angles to be wrought
up with Ashler att 140 ^l ea which amounts to | | | | 700 | 0 | 0 |
| | This worke requires 32 Buttriss's to sustaine the
wall ag st the weight of the earth, which att
50 ^l each is | | | | 1,600 | 0 | 0 |
| Fig.
Prof.
F. | From Lawson's Battery downe towards the
water side must be a Traverse of abot 220 fo ^t
long and 20 fo ^t high, and 9 foot y ^e mean
Thicknes, containing in all abot 108 Rodd
w ^{ch} at 10 ^l per Rodd is | | | | 1,080 | 0 | 0 |
| | Att the Foot of the said Traverse upon the
Strand must be a Redoubt of abot 60 fo ^t
square and 30 fo ^t high, to be built with strong
Oaken Platformes Lodgings for Soldiers and
Powd ^r houses containing 108 Squares att 25 ^l
the Square amounts to | | | | 2,700 | 0 | 0 |
| | The Graft before Peterborowe Tower (to witt)
about the new workes is to be sunke much
deeper than the present Graft is, and will
amount to 12,345 Floores, which at 18 ^s p
Floore is | | | | 11,110 | 0 | 0 |

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|--------|----|----|--------|----|----|
| The Outside Wall of the said Graft before the new Worke being in length 470 ft. or 28½ Rods Running, att 195 ^l p Rodd amounts to... | 5,557 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| The Charge of this Worke is in all ... | | | | 22,747 | 10 | 0 |
| For Building the Raveline between y ^e detach ^t Bastion at Johnson's Battery and the Bastion at Peterborow Tower, The Maine Wall being in length 570 foot conts 34½ Running Rodd is at 575 ^l each ... | 19,837 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| For cleareing the Grafts abo y ^e s ^d Raveline, &c., containing 4,660 Floores at 18 ^s p Floore is ... | 4,194 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The Wall on the outside of the Graft being 360 foot in length is 21¾ Rodd, w ^{ch} at 195 ^l each Run ^s Rodd is ... | 4,241 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| To this Worke is to be a Drawbridge and a Sally Port, The Drawbridge to be 100 fot over leading to the maine Work without Peterborow Tower, being Rated at 5 ^l the Foot. | | | | | | |
| The way to the Sally Port to be covered or arch'd, Giveing Communication to the old halfe Bastion in the Upper Castle, being 300 foot in Length, both together amounting to ... | 932 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| In this worke wilbe about 42 Square of Platform att 7 ^l 10 ^s the Square ... | 300 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Likewise 20 Abutments to sustaine the wall against the weight of the Earth, which at 5 ^l each amounts to ... | 1,000 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Three Angles to be wrought up w th Ashler in the said Raiveline, amounting to 4,200 fot att 2 ^s p fot ... | 420 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For Building a Barrack and a Guardhouse containing 30 Square att 35 ^l p Square ... | 1,050 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The whole Charge of this worke amounts to ... | | | | 31,974 | 10 | 0 |
| The Detach ^t Bastion at Johnson's Battery contains in the Maine Wall of the Rampar 660 foot in Length, w ^{ch} is 40 Running Rodd, at 575 ^l p Rodd, amounts to in all ... | 23,000 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The outside Wall of the Graft before the Point of the said Bastion with the Counterscarp is 320 foot, which contains 19 Running Rodd, and att 195 ^l p Rodd is the sume of ... | 3,705 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The Palisadoes to this work containing 20 Rodd att 8 ^l p Rodd is... | 160 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The Abutm ^{ts} in this Bastion being 23 att 50 ^l each amounts to ... | 1,150 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| There are 5 Angles to be wrought up with Ashler att 140 ^l each, which amounts to ... | 700 | 0 | 0 | | | |

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|--|--------|----|----|--------|----|----|
| For clearing and deepning the Main Graft from this worke to Peterborow Tower, containing in all about 5,555 Floores, att 18 ^s the Floore, am ^{ts} to | 4,999 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| The Compleat Charge of this Bastion amounts to the sume of | | | | 33,714 | 10 | 0 |
| The Maine Wall of the Raveline between the Detach't Bastion att Johnson's Battery and that of Catharina Port, contains in Length 390 foot or 23½ Running Rodd, wch at 575 ^l p Rod is the sume of | 13,559 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| This worke will Require 14 Butteris's which at 50 ^l each is the sume of | 700 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The inside wall of the said Raveline is in Length 250 foot, which contains 15 Rung Rodds, and att 195 ^l ea Running Rodd amounts to .. | 2,925 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The 3 Angles wrought up wth Ashler att the aforegoing Rate | 420 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The Outside Wall of the Graft and that of the Counterscarpe contains abo ^t 33 Running Rodd, which at 195 ^l each Rodd amounts to... | 6,435 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| In this worke must be built 20 square of Platforne, wch at 7 ^l 10 ^s the Square am ^{ts} to ... | 150 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The Graft of this Raveline amounts to about 6,018 Floores, wch att 18 ^s the Floore is the Sume of... .. | 5,416 | 4 | 0 | | | |
| To make a Drawbridge with the Gates and all things thereto appertaining att 5 ^l to a Foot Running is | 500 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The Palisadoes before this worke contg 33 Running Rodd att 8 ^l Rodd is the Sume of ... | 1,000 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The Compleat Charge of this worke am ^{ts} to... .. | | | | 31,105 | 14 | 0 |
| The Detach't Bastion before Catharina Port, cont ^s in Length 790 fo ^t or 48 Runns Rodd consisting of the Dimensions of the aforegoing Workes att 575 ^l each Running Rodd, amounts to | 27,600 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| To this Bastion is allotted 29 Butteris's att 50 ^l each which amounts to | 1,450 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| To this work are 5 Angles to be wrought up wth Ashler, wch att 140 each is the sume of ... | 700 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For the Cleareing and Deepning the Graft from the Point of this Bastion to that of Johnson's Battery, amounting to about 9,290 Floores, at 18s. p Floore is the Sume of | 8,361 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The Wall on the Outside of the Graft is about 25 Running Rodd, wch att 195 ^l ea Runns Rodd amounts to | 4,875 | 0 | 0 | | | |

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|--|--------|----|----|--------|----|----|
| For 25 Rodd of Palisadoes at 8 ^l p Rodd ... | 200 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For making large Guardhouses on the said Bastion containing 40 Square at 35 ^l each Square amounts to the Sume of ... | 1,400 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The whole Charge of this Worke comes to the Sume of ... | | | | 44,586 | 0 | 0 |
| For the Raveline betwixt the Detach't Bastion att Catharina Port and the Bastion att the Irish Battery cont. 28 Runns Rodds att 180 ^l p Rodd is ... | 5,320 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The Inside Wall next the Graft contain 18 Running Rodds att 85 ^l p Rodd is .. | 1,530 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| To this Worke are Required 18 Abutms to Sustaine the Wall, wch at 50 ^l ea is ... | 900 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The Outside Wall of the Graft before the Raveline is 32 Running Rodd, which att 85 ^l p Rodd amounts to ... | 2,720 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The 32 Rodd of Palisadoes att 8 ^l p Rodd amounts to ... | 256 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For 3 Coyne to be wrought up wth Ashler att 140 ^l each ... | 420 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For making the Graft to this Raveline containing about 3,734 Floores, att 18 ^s p Floore amounts to ... | 3,360 | 12 | 0 | | | |
| For a Sally Port and Bridge to the Crowne Worke without the Bridge, being 100 fo ^t in Length, wch att 5 ^l p foot is ... | 500 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For the Platforme containing 20 Square at 7 ^l 10 ^s p Square the Sume of ... | 150 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For a Guardhouse to the same about 40 fo ^t Long and 20 foot broad ... | 200 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The Compleat Charge of this Worke amountes to ... | | | | 15,356 | 12 | 0 |
| The Bastion for Fortifying the Irish Battery contains in Solid Walling 680 foot in length, or 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ Running Rodd, which att 575 ^l each Running Rodd amounts to ... | 23,717 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| For 24 Abutms to Sustaine the Wall att 50 ^l each is | 1,200 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For 3 Coyne to be wrought in Ashler att 140 ^l each | 420 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| For Platformes containing 40 Square at 7 ^l 10 ^s the Square ... | 300 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| The Raveline between the Point of this Bastion and that of the half-Bastion at the Devill's Tower contains in Running Measure 390 foot 23 $\frac{3}{4}$ Runns Rodd att 190 ^l each Rodd amounts to ... | 4,497 | 3 | 4 | | | |
| For 3 Angles to be wrought up with Ashler att 36 ^l each ... | 108 | 0 | 0 | | | |

| | | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|--|---------|----|----|---------|----|----|
| | The Wall of the Inside of the Raveline next the Graft is 270 foot in Length or 60½ Running Rodd att 85½ p Rodd is ... | 1,402 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| | The whole Cost of this Work amounts to | | | | 31,645 | 3 | 4 |
| Prof. | The Wall of the Maine Worke for Fortifyng the Devill's Tower contains in Length 960 foot | | | | | | |
| E. | wh ^{ch} is 58 Running Rodd and att 575½ p Rodd amounts to ... | 33,350 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | To this Work is design'd 70 Abutments to sustain the Wall, wh ^{ch} at 50½ ea is ... | 3,500 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | To this Work also 2 Coyne's are to be wrought in Ashler att 140½ ea wh ^{ch} am ^{ts} to ... | 280 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | The Platformes to the Worke will am ^{ts} to 60 Square which at 7½ 10s per Square is ye Sume of ... | 450 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | The Wall of the Outside of the Graft of the Bastion att the Irish Battery to the Devill's Tower, being in Length 1,940 foot (the wall of the Counter-scarp being comprehended) makes 117½ Running Rodd, wh ^{ch} att 195½ each Rodd is the sume of ... | 22,912 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| | For 117½ Rodd of Palisadoes att 8½ per Rodd... | 940 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | In the Graft betwixt the Irish Battery and the Devill's Tower is contained 24,689 Floores, wh ^{ch} att 18s per Floore am ^{ts} to ye Sume of | 22,220 | 2 | 0 | | | |
| | To this worke is to be added a Traverse Wall to be finished with a small Redoubt Run out into the Sea, which worke w th Platformes, &c., amounts by Estimacon to ... | 3,060 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | The Intire Charge of this worke is ... | | | | 86,712 | 12 | 0 |
| | The Sume Total of Fortifying the Workes of the Towne and Castle, with Bastions, Ravelines, &c., amounts to... | | | | 343,375 | 5 | 10 |
| <hr/> | | | | | | | |
| Wee proceed now to lay downe and consider the charge of the Sundry Workes Designed for Takeing in the Ground without, and Possessing and Fortifying those Eminencies wh ^{ch} overlooke and comand the Castle, Towne, and Harbour, without wh ^{ch} workes wee see not how either can be secure against an enemy who with Skill and Power should chance to attempt this place : | | | | | | | |
| Fig. | In the works before Peterborow Tower, consisting of one whole and Two halfe Bastions (which Advances neare 300 foot into the Field) is contained 3,566 foot in Length of | | | | | | |
| b. b. | ye maine Wall of the Rampar, wh ^{ch} being in | | | | | | |
| Prof. | Running Rodds 216 att 575½ the Rodd am ^{ts} to the Sume of ... | 124,200 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| E. | | | | | | | |

| | | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|-------|--|---------|----|----|----------|----|------|
| | This worke will require 127 Butteris's or | | | | | | |
| | Abutmts to Sustaine the Inside Wall, which | | | | | | |
| | att 50 ^l each amounts to | 6,350 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | There are 10 Coynes to be wrought up with | | | | | | |
| | Ashler Stone at 140 ^l each | 1,400 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | The Charge of Makeing and Cleareing the | | | | | | |
| | Graft, containeing in Length 3,500 foot in | | | | | | |
| | Depth, 50 foot and 100 foot broad, amounts | | | | | | |
| | to 5,412 Flores w ^{ch} att 18 ^s the Floore is y ^e | | | | | | |
| | sume of | 48,610 | 16 | 0 | | | |
| | For makeing and cleareing of Two Raveline | | | | | | |
| | Grafts, containing 550 fo ^t in Length and | | | | | | |
| | amounting in Floores to 6,790, w ^{ch} att 18 ^s | | | | | | |
| | per Floore is the Sume of | 6,111 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Prof. | The Maine Wall of the 2 Ravelines conts in all | | | | | | |
| F. | 50 ^½ Running Rodds att 190 ^l per Rodd is ... | 9,626 | 13 | 4 | | | |
| | The Walls of the Raveline towards the Maine | | | | | | |
| | Graffe, containing 31 ^½ Running Rodds at 85 ^l | | | | | | |
| | per Rodd amounts to | 2,691 | 13 | 4 | | | |
| | For 10 Stone Centinell houses at 25 ^l each ... | 250 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | For 4 Sally Ports and 4 Powder Towers ... | 1,000 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | For 4 Sally Bridges of 6 foot wide each, to | | | | | | |
| | passee over the Graft into the outworkes, | | | | | | |
| | together with their Sally Ports, containing | | | | | | |
| | 600 foot att 5 ^l per foot Running | 3,000 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | For 3,800 foot of Palisadoes to stand round the | | | | | | |
| | Counterscarp att 8 ^l per Rodd | 1,842 | 13 | 4 | | | |
| | For 244 square of Building for Quarters for the | | | | | | |
| | Soldiers at 36 ^l per square amounts to ... | 8,784 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | For 17 square of Building for Quarters for the | | | | | | |
| | Officers att 45 ^l p square, the sume of ... | 765 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | For Cisternes and Rainebacks to Reserve Water | 800 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | The Sume Totall of all the Cost of this | | | | | | |
| | Worke before Peterborow Tower | | | | [215,431 | 16 | 0 ?] |
| | amounts to | | | | 215,647 | 16 | 0 |
| Fig. | The Crowne Works design'd to take in and Fortify | | | | | | |
| c. c. | the Eminencies w ^{ch} overlooke and comand | | | | | | |
| Prof. | the Southwest Part of the Towne and part | | | | | | |
| E. | of the Castle as it is laid downe in the | | | | | | |
| | annexed Draught containes 5,321 foot of | | | | | | |
| | Maine Wall in Running Measure, which is | | | | | | |
| | 322 ^½ Rodds at 575 ^l p Rodd, amounts to ... | 185,437 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| | This Worke will require 190 Butteris's to | | | | | | |
| | Strengthen the Inward Wall, which att 50 ^l is | 9,500 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | There are 12 Coynes to be wrought up with | | | | | | |
| | Ashler at 140 ^l each, w ^{ch} amounts to ... | 1,680 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | In the outside Wall of the Graft and Counter- | | | | | | |
| | scarp are contained 340 Running Rod, which | | | | | | |
| | att 195 ^l p Rodd is | 66,300 | 0 | 0 | | | |

| | | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|-------|---|---------|----|----|---|----|----|
| | This worke will require 340 Rodd of Palisades, which at 8 ^l the Rodd amounts to ... | 2,720 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | For makeing and cleareing the intire Graft of this Worke, containing 109,406 Floores, which att 18 ^s p Floore amounts to ye sume of ... | 98,465 | 8 | 0 | | | |
| Fig. | The Maine Wall of the 2 Ravelines, containing | | | | | | |
| Prof. | in Length 60 Running Rodd, which att 190 ^l | | | | | | |
| F. | p Rodd is the sume of... .. | 11,400 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | The Inside Wall of the Ravelines next the Maine Graft, contains 39 Running Rodd in Length, web att 85 ^l each Rodd is the sume of | 3,315 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | In the said Ravelines the Guard and Powder-houses amount p computacon to | 496 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | Likewise 50 square of Gunstone att 7 ^l 10 ^s p square is the sume of... .. | 375 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | For Two Sally Bridges and their Ports, containing 60 foot in Length, which att 5 ^l p Foot Running is | 300 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | For Six Coynes for the Ravelines to be wrought in Ashler at 36 ^l each amots to | 216 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | In the Maine Worke wilbe contain'd 280 square of Platformes of Stone att 7 ^l 10 ^s the square, which amounts to | 2,100 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | In this Worke must be built to the Quantity of 516 Square for Quarters for Officers and Soldiers, which att 36 ^l p square amounts to | 18,576 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | The Charge of Building a Magazine or Generall Storehouse upon the Ground where Pole Fort now stands to be 70 foot square, att 5 ^l p square amounts to | 2,450 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | The Incloseing the said Magazine with a Counterscarpe and strong Palisado at 8 ^l the Rodd | 400 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | The Cisternes and Rainebacks necessary to this Worke for Conserving of Water will Cost the sume of... .. | 4,000 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | For Twelve Stone Centinell houses att 25 ^l each | 300 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | The Sume Totall of the Charge of this Crowne Worke amounts to | 408,030 | 18 | 0 | | | |
| Fig. | Lastly wee come to consider with our best care | | | | | | |
| d. d. | and judgm ^t the Sandhill web Comand the Port and a great part of the Town and Castle, and which in our humble opinion cannot be taken in and Secured but with such a Worke or Cittadell as in the Draught accompanying this Survey is laid downe, being a Regular Figure consisting of Five Bastions, Ravelines, | | | | | | |

| | | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|--|---|-------|---------|----|----|----|----|
| &c. The Charge of Building whereof being as followeth :— | | | | | | | |
| Prof.
E. | The Length of the Maine Wall of the Cittadell from the point of One Bastion to the other is 780 foot, which being of one and the same Profile with the other Walls of the Rampars already cast amounts likewise to the sume of 575 ^l for every Running Rodd, the said 780 foot thereof makeing 47 ¹ / ₄ Rodd, comes to 575 ^l p Rodd as aforesaid, the sume of | ... | 27,216 | 13 | 4 | | |
| | The Abutmt ^s for sustaining y ^e Inward Wall wilbe in Number 28, which at 5 ^l each is the sume of | ... | 1,400 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Three Coynes to be wrought up with Ashler att 140 ^l each is... | ... | 420 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | In the Maine Graft is contained 10,802 Floores, w ^{ch} att 18 ^s p Floore am ^{ts} to | ... | 9,721 | 16 | 0 | | |
| Prof.
E. | In the Maine Wall of the Ravelines is contained 17 Running Rodd, which at 190 ^l ea Rodd is... | ... | 3,230 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | The Wall of the Inside of the Raveline next the Maine Graft contains 12 Rodd in Running Measure, which at 85 ^l p Rodd amounts to | ... | 1,020 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | The Makeing and Cleareing the Raveline Graft, being not soe deep as y ^e Maine Graft, containing in all 3,703 Floores, which att 18 ^s p Floore amounts to | ... | 3,332 | 14 | 0 | | |
| | The Wall of the Counterscarpe from Point to Point of the Bastions contains 67 Running Rodd (Footbanck and all comprehended), which att 195 ^l every Running Rodd makes the sume of | ... | 13,065 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | For 66 Running Rodd of Palisado ^s att 8 ^l p Rodd | ... | 528 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | For Barracks or Lodgings for the Soldiers, being 200 foot in Length and 36 fo ^t in Breadth, containing 72 Square, w ^{ch} at 36 ^l p Square Am ^{ts} to y ^e Sume of | ... | 2,592 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | The Charge of the Draw Bridges, being in Length 300 foot, at 5 ^l ea Running Foot, amounts to | ... | 1,500 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | The Charge of the Sally Ports and Powder houses is p Estimacon | ... | 240 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | The Charge of Two Rainebacks p Estimacon | ... | 300 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | The Charges of the Platformes, being 100 Squares at 7 ^l 10 ^s p Square, amounts to the Sume of | ... | 750 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | The aforegoing Sumes and Measures are the value and contents of one side of the Figure, which, being Multiply'd by 5, makes the | ----- | [65,316 | 3 | 4] | | |

| | | | | | | |
|--|---|----|----|-----------|----|----|
| solid Sume amount to Three hundred twenty six Thousand Five hundred and Eighty pounds Sixteene Shillings and Eight pence... | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
| | | | | 326,580 | 16 | 8 |
| Furthermore the Charge of making a Cover'd Arched Way downe from the Cittadell into the Worke att the Devill's Tower which p Estimation Amo ^{ts} to | | | | 507 | 0 | 0 |
| The Charge of making a Line of Communication downe from ye Cittadell to Low Water Marke with a Redoubt adjoyn'd to preserve Correspondence by Sea amounting to p Estimacon | | | | 3,060 | 0 | 0 |
| The Charge of an Army in y ^e Field to cover and sustaine us ag st the Enemy for y ^e Space of 12 years During the Progresse of these Workes being to consist of at least 8,000 Foot and 2,000 Horse Amo ^{ts} to | | | | 3,501,360 | 0 | 0 |
| The Annuall Charge of a Standing Garrison Sufficient to Man and Defend the said Workes when Finished, being to consist of 8,000 Foot and 6,000 Horse with Contingencies &c. will amount to p Estimac ⁿ the Sume of One hundred and Forty thousand Three hundred Fifty and Six pounds and Ten Shillings. | | | | | | |
| The whole sume of the foregoing Repaires Fortifications, Forces, Contingencies, &c., Amounts to the Sume of Fowre Millions, Seaven hundred Nynety Eight Thousand, Five hundred and Sixty One Pounds Sixteene Shillings and Sixpence | | | | 4,798,561 | 16 | 6 |

May it please yo^r Excelley

Wee have in the foregoing Survey and Calculations Labour'd with our best Judgments and Integrity to yield obedience to yo^r Excellys Directions Given in Comission to us on that behalfe (A Copy of which Comission is hereunto annexed).

Wee have laid before yo^r Excelley in the Draught or Designe which Accompanyes this Our Survey, how farr it is necessary to advance into the Field, and what Immense Workes are found needfull to Fortifie and Secure the said Ground soe to be Taken in, without which the Towne and Port can in noe wise be safe against the Attempts of a Bold and skilfull Enemy.

Wee have humbly (according to our abillities) sett downe the Cost of the Materialls and Workmanship necessary to the Effecting this great Worke and have faithfully and with Lymitted and Proporconate Computacons Cast up the said Worke, with Respect to the different Rates of all Materialls and Workmanship betwixt this Place and our own Country, all things being to be brought hither from thence at the additionall Expence of Transportacon.

Wee have also sett downe the Contingent Charge of Extraordinary Forces to Sustaine the Carrying on and compleating the said Workes against such Opposicon

as wee are to Expect this Prince will make to our Proceedings, which Army (dureing the said Service) must live perpetually incamp'd in the Field to cover us.

Wee have also humbly Offer'd our Opinions touch^s what Standing Garrison of Horse and Foot wilbe modestly needfull to Man and Defend these Workes when Finished. And having proceeded thus farr in the discharge of the Trust Reposed in us by yo^r Excellency,

Wee doe Lastly Take liberty humbly to Offer Two very Materiall objections to this great and Expensive Designe which wee submitt to yo^r Excellencies Wisdome Maturely to Examine, Either of which Seeming to us alone sufficient to Discourage an Undertaking wherein his Mat^y and the Nations Honor with the Expence of soe much Blood and Treasure are to be Engaged, Namely a Universall Scarcity of Water, and ye Unpracticableness of Building or Fortifying upon the Sandhills.

The present Distresses of this Place through want of Water beyond what hath ever happened within any of our Memoryes, And the Diseases brought among us by drinking of bad, is such That if wee were to enter into Hostility at this day with the Moores (who are Masters of all the good Water wee at p'sent Enjoy) wee see not how the Garrison could subsist. Your Excell^y is the best Judge of this Truth who is att this day under the Necessity of sending the Ships under y^r comand to Spaine for Water to supply y^r Fleet, The Reason of this great Scarcity seems to us to proceed from the Decay or Stoppage of all our Principall Aquaducts (a Calamity out of our Power to Redresse), The Sources or Spring Heads being neither within our Possession or knowledge where they are. But let the Reason be either through the Defect or through the great Drouth of the Season, Whensever the like shall happen in time of Warr, this place must inevitably Run the greatest hazard.

The second Objection (to Witt) that of Fortifying upon the Sand hills is of soe great Weight (Granting the Truth of Matter of Fact) That the said Sand hills dayly Encrease, which some of the Gentⁿ Intruded by your Excell^y in this Comission averr upon Experience to be true, and that within their Memory the said Sandhills are raised 15 foot in perpendicular height, we^{ch} being admitted, wee should in such case greatly abuse his Mat^y and yo^r Excell^y, and Betray our Trust, should wee Encourage any Attempt of Fortifying there And if the Port and Mole cannot be secure to his Mat^y without the Possession of that Ground, And the possessing that Ground not practicable And if Tang^r it selfe hath noe Intrinsick value, but what is derived from a prospect of the Benefit of a good and safe Port, Wee then humbly leave it to his Mat^y to determine how farr it is advisable to Engage in an Undertaking of this Mighty Consequence Which with our Praying yo^r Excellencies taking in good part these our humble Endeavor^s towards the fulfilling yo^r Comands in this Comision. Wee Remaine

May it please yo^r Excell^y

Yo^r Excell^{ys} most Dutifull faithfull and most Obedient humble Serv^{ts}

| | | |
|---|-----------------|----------------|
| | H. SHERE, | JOHN GILES, |
| <i>Tang^r Octobr y^e 2^d, 1683.</i> | CHA. TRELAWNEY, | EDWARD TESSIN, |
| | M BOYNTON, | M. BECKMANN. |

Endorsed—"Survey of the Fortificacons of Tanger, &c."

APPENDIX G.

HIS MAJESTIES MESSAGE TO THE COMMONS IN PARLIAMENT, RELATING
TO TANGIER, AND THE HUMBLE ADDRESS OF THE COMMONS TO
HIS MAJESTY IN ANSWER TO THAT MESSAGE.

CHARLES REX.

His Majesty did in His Speech, at the opening of this Session, desire the advice and Assistance of His Parliament, in relation to *Tangier*. The Condition and importance of the place obliges His Majesty to put this House in mind again That He relies upon them for the support of it, without which it cannot be much longer Preserved. His Majesty does therefore very earnestly Recommend *Tangier* again to the due and speedy Consideration and Care of this House.

*The Humble Address of the Commons, in Parliament assembled, presented to His
Majesty, Monday, 29th day of November, 1680.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY :

We, Your Majesties Most Obedient and Loyal Subjects, The Commons in Parliament Assembled, having with all Duty and Regard taken into our Serious Consideration Your Majesties late Message relating to *Tangier* cannot but account the present condition of it, as Your Majesty is Pleased to Represent it in Your said Message (after so vast a Treasure expended to make it useful), not only as one Infelicity more added to the afflicted Estate of Your Majesties faithful and Loyal Subjects, But as one result also of the same Counsels and Designs which have brought Your Majesties Person, Crown and Kingdom, into those great and imminent Dangers with which at this day they are surrounded ; and we are the less surprized to hear of the Exigencies of *Tangier*, when we remember that since it became part of Your Majesties Dominions, it hath several times been under the Command of Popish Governors (particularly for some time under the Command of a Lord Impeached, and now Prisoner in the *Tower* for the execrable and Horrid Popish Plot) ; That the Supplies sent thither have been in great part made up of Popish Officers and Soldiers, and that the *Irish* Papists amongst the Soldiers of that Garrison have been the Persons most Countenanced and Encouraged.

To that part of your Majesties Message which expresses a reliance upon this House for the support of *Tangier*, and a recommendation of it to our speedy care, we do with all humility and reverence give this Answer, That, although in due Time and Order we shall omit nothing incumbent on Us for the preservation of every part of your Majesties Dominions, and advancing the prosperity and flourishing Estate of this, your Kingdom ; yet, at this time, when a Cloud which

has long threatned this Land, is ready to break upon our heads in a storm of Ruine and Confusion, to enter into any further consideration of this matter, especially to come to any Resolutions in it, before we are effectually secured from the imminent and apparent Dangers arising from the Power of Popish Persons and Councils, We humbly conceive will not consist either with our Duty to your Majesty, or the Trust reposed in Us by those we represent.

It is not unknown to your Majesty how restless the Endeavours, and how bold the attempts of the Popish Party, for many years last past, have been, not only within this, but other your Majesties Kingdoms, to introduce the Romish, and utterly to extirpate the true Protestant Religion. The several Approaches they have made towards the compassing this their Design (assisted by the Treachery of perfidious Protestants), have been so strangely successful, that 'tis matter of Admiration to Us, and which we can only ascribe to an Overruling Providence that your Majesties Reign is still continued over Us, and that We are yet assembled to consult the means of our preservation; This bloody and restless Party not content with the great Liberty they had a long time enjoyed to exercise their own Religion privately amongst themselves, to partake of an equal Freedom of their persons and Estates with your Majesties Protestant subjects, and of an Advantage above them, in being excused from chargeable Offices and Employments, hath so far prevailed, as to find countenance for an open and avowed practice of their Superstition and Idolatry, without controul, in several parts of this Kingdom. Great swarms of Priests and Jesuits have resorted hither, and have here exercised their Jurisdiction, and been daily tampering to pervert the Consciences of your Majesties Subjects. Their opposers they have found means to disgrace, and if they were Judges, Justices of the Peace, or other Magistrates, to have them turned out of Commission, and in contempt of the known Laws of the Land, they have practised upon people of all ranks and qualities, and gained over divers to their Religion, some openly to profess it, others secretly to espouse it, as most conduced to the service thereof.

After some time they became able to influence matters of State and Government, and thereby to destroy those they cannot corrupt. The continuance or Prorogation of Parliaments has been accommodated to serve the purposes of that Party. Money raised upon the People to supply your Majesties extraordinary Occasions, was by the prevalence of Popish Councils employed to make War upon a Protestant State, and to advance and augment the dreadful Power of the French King, though to the apparent hazard of this, and all other Protestant Countries. Great numbers of your Majesties Subjects were sent into, and continued in the service of that King, notwithstanding the apparent Interest of your Majesties Kingdoms, the Addresses of the Parliament, and your Majesty's gracious Proclamations to the contrary. Nor can We forbear to mention, how, that at the beginning of the same War, even the Ministers of *England* were made Instruments to press upon that State the acceptance of one demand, amongst others, from the French King for procuring their peace with him, that they should admit the publick exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion in the United Provinces, the Churches there to be divided, and the Romish Priests maintained out of the Publick Revenue.

At home, if your Majesty did at any time by the Advice of Your Privy-Council, or of Your two Houses of Parliament, Command the Laws to be put in Execution against Papists, even from thence they gained advantage to their Party, while the

edge of those Laws was turned against Protestant Dissenters, and the Papists escaped in a manner untouched. The Act of Parliament, enjoining a Test to be taken by all Persons admitted into any Publick Office, and intended for a security against Papists coming into Employment, had so little effect, that either by Dispensations, obtained from *Rome*, they submitted to those Tests, and held their offices themselves, or those put in their places were so favourable to the same Interests, that Popery itself has rather gained than lost ground since that Act.

But that their business in hand might yet more speedily and strongly proceed at length, a Popish Secretary (since Executed for his Treasons) takes upon him to set afoot and maintain correspondences at *Rome* (particularly with a Native Subject of Your Majesties, promoted to be a Cardinal) and in the Courts of other Foreign Princes (to use their own form of Speech) for the subduing that pestilent Heresie which has so long domineered over this Northern World ; that is, to root the Protestant Religion out of *England*, and thereby to make way the more easily to do the same in other Protestant Countries.

Towards the doing this great work (as Mr. *Coleman* was pleased to call it), Jesuits (the most dangerous of all Popish Orders to the Lives and Estates of Princes) were distributed to their several Precincts within this Kingdom, and held joint councils with those of the same Order in all Neighbour Popish Countries. Out of these Councils and Correspondencies was hatcht that damnable and hellish Plot, by the good Providence of Almighty God brought to light above two Years since, but still threatening us ; wherein the Traytors, impatient of longer delay, reckoning the prolonging of Your Sacred Majesties Life (which God long preserve) as the Great Obstacle in the way to the Consummation of their hopes, and having in their prospect a Proselyted Prince immediately to succeed in the Throne of these Kingdoms, resolved to begin their work with the Assassination of Your Majesty, to carry it on with Armed Force, to destroy Your Protestant Subjects in *England*, to Execute a second Massacre in *Ireland*, and so with ease to arrive at the Suppression of our Religion, and the Subversion of the Government.

When this Accursed Conspiracy began to be discovered, they began the smothering it with the Barbarous Murther of a Justice of the Peace, within one of Your Majesties own Pallaces, who had taken some Examinations concerning it.

Amidst these distractions and fears, Popish Officers for the Command of Forces were allowed upon the Musters by special Orders (surreptitiously obtained from Your Majesty), but Counter-Signed by a Secretary of State, without ever passing under the Tests prescribed by the aforementioned Act of Parliament. In like manner above fifty new Commissions were granted about the same time to known Papists, besides a great number of desperate Popish Officers, though out of Command, yet entertained at half-pay. When in the next Parliament the House of Commons were prepared to bring to a legal Tryal the principal Conspirators in this Plot, that Parliament was first Prorogued, and then Dissolved. The Interval between the Calling and Sitting of this Parliament was so long, that now they conceive hopes of Covering all their past Crimes, and gaining a seasonable time and advantages of practising them more effectually.

Witnesses are attempted to be corrupted, and not only promises of Reward, but of the Favour of Your Majesties Brother, made the Motives to their Compliance. Divers of the most considerable of Your Majesties Protestant Subjects have Crimes of the highest nature forged against them, the charge to be supported by Subornation and Perjury, that they may be destroyed by Forms of Law and Justice.

A Presentment being prepared for a Grand Jury of *Middlesex* against your Majesties said Brother, the Duke of *York* (under whose countenance all the rest shelter themselves), the Grand Jury were in an unheard of and unpresented and illegal manner discharged ; and that with so much haste, and fear lest they should finish that *Presentment*, that they were prevented from delivering many other *Indictments* by them at that time found against other Popish Recusants. Because a Pamphlet came forth Weekly, called, *The Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome*, which exposes Popery (as it deserves) as ridiculous to the People, a new and arbitrary Rule of Court was made in your Majesties Court of King's Bench (rather like a Star-Chamber than a Court of Law) that the same should not for the future be Printed by any Person whatsoever.

We acknowledge Your Majesties Grace and Care in issuing forth divers Proclamations since the Discovery of the Plot for the Banishing Papists from about this Great City, and Residence of your Majesties Court, and the Parliament ; but with trouble of Mind We do humbly inform Your Majesty, That notwithstanding all these Prohibitions, great Numbers of them, and of the most dangerous sort, to the Terrour of Your Majesties Protestant Subjects, do daily resort hither, and abide here. Under these and other sad Effects and Evidences of the Prevalency of Popery, and its Adherents, We, Your Majesties faithful Commons, found this Your Majesties Distressed Kingdom and other Parts of Your Dominions labouring, when We assembled.

And therefore from our Allegiance to Your Majesty, our Zeal to our Religion, our Faithfulness to our Countrey, and our care of *Posterity*, We have lately, upon mature deliberation, proposed One Remedy of these Great Evils, without which (in our Judgements) all others will prove vain and fruitless, and (like all deceitful Securities against certain Dangers) will rather expose Your Majesties Person to the greatest hazard, and the People, together with all that's valuable to them as Men or Christians, to utter Ruine and Destruction. We have taken this Occasion of an Access to Your Majesties Royal Presence, humbly to lay before Your Majesties great Judgement and Gracious Consideration this most dreadful Design of Introducing Popery, and, as necessary Consequences of it, all other Calamities, into Your Majesties Kingdoms. And if after all this, the private Suggestions of the subtle Accomplices of that Party and Design should yet prevail, either to Elude or Totally Obstruct the faithful Endeavours of Us Your Commons for an Happy Settlement of this Kingdom, We shall have this Remaining Comfort, That we have freed ourselves from the Guilt of that Blood and Desolation which is like to ensue. But our only Hope, next under God, is in Your Sacred Majesty, That by Your Great Wisdom and Goodness, we may be effectually secured from Popery, and all the Evils that attend it ; and that none but Persons of known Fidelity to Your Majesty, and Sincere Affections to the Protestant Religion, may be put into any Employment, Civil or Military ; that whilst we shall give a supply to *Tangier*, we may be assured we do not Augment the Strength of our Popish Adversaries, nor encrease our own Dangers. Which Desires of Your faithful Commons, if Your Majesty shall graciously vouchsafe to grant, We shall not only be ready to assist Your Majesty in Defence of *Tangier*, but do whatsoever else shall be in our Power to enable Your Majesty to Protect the Protestant Religion and Interest, at Home and Abroad, and to Resist and Repel the Attempts of Your Majesties and the Kingdom's Enemies.

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